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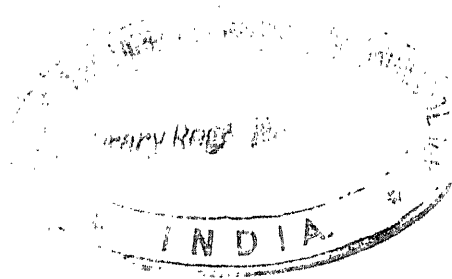
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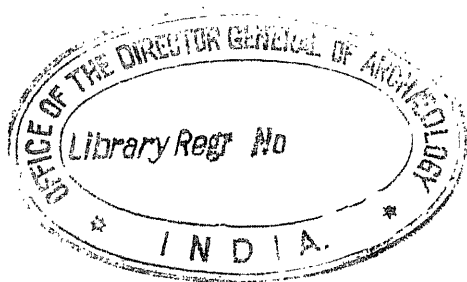
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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.





THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

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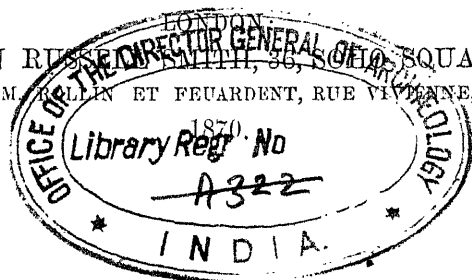
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CONTENTS.

ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	Page
Remarks on the Classification of some Coins of Lysimachus. By Dr. L. Müller	1
On the Coin of <i>Knosos</i> with the Legend ΠΟΛΧΟΞ. By T. J. Arnold, Esq., F.S.A.	11
An Unpublished Coin of Maximian. By S. F. Corkran, Esq.	14
Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East. (<i>Continued from</i> p. 318, vol. ix., N.S.) By Major-General A. Cunningham	65, 205
On the Religious Character of Greek Coins. By Professor Dr. Ernst Curtius. Translated by B. V. Head, Esq.	91
Brass Medallion, Representing the Persian Victory of Maximianus Galerius. By the Rev. Padre Garrucci; translated and communicated by W. M. Wylie, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	112
Medallions of Faustina Senior and Commodus. By S. F. Corkran, Esq.	119
On a Small Silver Coin of Seleucus I.—Nicator. By W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.	133
On an Electrum Stater, possibly of Ephesus. By Charles Newton, Esq.	237

MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

Coins of Ælfred the Great. By the Rev. Daniel Henry Haigh	19
On some Unpublished Silver Coins of Edward IV., and a Few Remarks on the Coinage of Edward V.: By J. F. Neck, Esq.	40

	Page
On Some Medals Struck by Order of the Corporation of London. By W. Blades, Esq.	56
Note on a Hoard of Coins found on Pitstone Common, near Tring, 1870. By John Evans, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S. .	125
Further Notice of Gold Coins Discovered in 1828 by C. E. Lefroy, Esq. By General Lefroy, F.R.S., &c.	164
London Tokens of the Seventeenth Century. By J. S. Smallfield, Esq.	177
Notes on Coins Recently Discovered in Scotland. By George Sim, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.	240
Money of Necessity. Issued in Ireland in the Reign of James the Second. By Aquilla Smith, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.	244

ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

Indo-Parthian Coins. By Edward Thomas, Esq., H.E.I.C.S. .	139
---	-----

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Revue de la Numismatique Belge	200, 267
Berliner Blätter für Münz-Siegel-und-Wappenkunde	268

MISCELLANEA.

Sales of Coins and Medals	201
List of Gold Coins Found at Prison of Dumblane, early in May, 1869	204

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

REMARKS ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF SOME COINS OF LYSIMACHUS.

I BEG to forward the following remarks, called forth by an article of Mr. Bunbury in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ix. pp. 1—18. This learned Numismatist, commenting on some unpublished coins of Lysimachus in his possession, has thrown doubts on several of the attributions concerning the places of mintage, and on some of the principles applied to the classification of the coins of the king, in my work, “Die Münzen des Lysimachus.” As to myself, I have no reason to reply to the article; the author, while recognising the uncertainty that attends the classification of these coins, speaks in by no means a categorical manner, and the judgment he finally gives upon my book in general is quite satisfactory to me. Nobody can be more ready than I to acknowledge how doubtful are several of my determinations as to the cities where the coins were struck, and how imperfect is the classification which is the result of my researches. But there are some points in the above-mentioned treatise on which I cannot agree with its author; and, as I think a continued discussion may throw light on the principles to be followed in explaining the mint-marks and classifying

the coins, I will submit my objections to the readers of this journal.

Among the accessory symbols on the coins of Lysimachus, left indeterminate by me, is the owl. Mr. Bunbury (pp. 1—3) gives the description of a tetradrachm hitherto unknown, which has an owl and a monogram in the exergue; reading the monogram BIZAN, and, observing that there exist coins from Bisanthe, in Thrace, with an owl on the reverse, he is disposed to attribute the coin to this city, and, conjecturally at least, also the other coins of Lysimachus and Alexander the Great, which bear the owl as an accessory symbol. This attribution can scarcely be adopted. The letter B being tied to the right side of the monogram, it has probably not been the initial of the name; this has begun from one of the letters forming the left part of it, an I, an Σ, or an M. The owl, as the author himself remarks, is a type of very frequent occurrence on autonomous Greek coins, and affords but little support to the determination. As there is another tetradrachm of Lysimachus (my No. 457), which equally offers an owl and a monogram in the exergue, but a monogram composed by K A, and denoting without doubt a magistrate or mint-master, it is probable that the monogram in question has been, like this, a person-mark. Lastly, it must be remarked that the owl occurs as a city-symbol not only on the coins of Alexander (Nos. 651—653) and Philip III. (No. 46) struck in Greece, but also on those of the Macedonian kings, Antigonus I. or II. and Philip V.; there is every reason to believe that it indicates the same city on the coins of all these kings;¹ but

¹ Conf. Numismatique d'Alexandre, p. 111, p. 200, and pl. xxxii.

neither of the two Antigoni ruled over any part of Thrace.

That the coins of Lysimachus with the cornucopiæ as accessory symbol are assigned by me to Cœla, in the Thracian Chersonese, appears to Mr. Bunbury a suggestion open to the gravest doubts, because there are no autonomous coins of Cœla, and it is only on the imperial coins of the town, when it had become a Roman municipium, that the cornucopiæ is found (p. 5). But it is well known that the Greek cities which were transformed into Roman colonies, or municipia, put on their coins, besides the representations common to the Roman colonies in general, principally such types or emblems as had previously been peculiar to the city; and, as many of the coins of Cœla offer a cornucopiæ, which is placed above the prow of a vessel or held by a figure representing the city, we may well infer that a cornucopiæ had been in former times the emblem of the Greek town.² Mr. Bunbury does not doubt that this symbol on the regal coins denotes a town in the south of Thrace; but he observes that it appears on autonomous coins of Sestos, and is a frequent type on those of Byzantium. As for Sestos, it is very improbable that the coins with the cornucopiæ were issued by this city. The mark of Sestos on the coins of Lysimachus, as well as on those of Alexander, was undoubtedly the Hermes, which occupies a prominent place on its autonomous coins; the cornucopiæ, as far as I know, has only been found once, on one of its small copper coins, which also offer other single types. Nor can these coins be referred to Byzantium. There are coins of Philip II. and

² Conf. Numismatique d'Alexandre, p. 166—7, and Münzen des Lysimachus, p. 51.

Alexander with the same sign, which, according to the fabric and the marks of the mint-masters, have been struck during their lifetime; but it is impossible to admit that the powerful Byzantium—the adversary of Philip, who attempted in vain to subdue it, and the independent ally of Alexander—struck the coins of these monarchs while they were reigning (see below). The coins with the types of Lysimachus, which after the time of this king issued in great number from the mint of Byzantium, all offer as accessories a trident, or BY, or both marks together. If the coins with the cornucopiæ are removed from Cœla, they must be classified among the uncertain ones.

Mr. Bunbury tries to show that some of the coins assigned by me to Chrysaoris, later Stratonicea, in Caria, belong to Amphipolis (pp. 7—9). Being aware that on my plate only that racing-torch, which is bound with strings or fillets, is connected with the Mæander, he supposes that all specimens on which the torch wants these fillets are from the Macedonian town. But the torch without fillets is really found together with the Mæander on one of these coins (my No. 445); it is by an oversight that the line indicating a repetition of the preceding symbol was omitted on the plate; in the text (pp. 81—83) it is thrice observed, that No. 445 has the Mæander as well as No. 444, and I end by remarking that it is from this very reason I have taken the simple torch on all the coins of Lysimachus for the sign of an Asiatic town, not for that of Amphipolis. But Mr. Bunbury has a peculiar reason for preferring Amphipolis. Of the tetradrachm No. 112, presenting as accessories a caduceus and a bee, and attributed by him as well as by me to Ænus, in Thrace, he possesses a specimen, the obverse of which is

from the same die as a specimen in his collection of No. 445*a*, which has the simple racing-torch associated with a bee, and by me is referred to Chrysaoris. It seems to him impossible to suppose that Ænus has had any connection, either administrative or artistic, with a town in a remote region of Asia Minor, whereas, it is less difficult to account for the fact that a die from the mint of Ænus has been used at Amphipolis in the adjacent province.³ But why cannot one man have been at the head of the coinage in the monarchy of Lysimachus, or why cannot the mintage in Asia Minor have been submitted to the same administration as that in Thrace? Why may we not suppose, when a new mint was to be established at a town in Caria, that a mint-master might have been transferred, from Ænus to the Asiatic town, and have carried with him a die for the head side, or that such a die, in order to facilitate the task of minting, was sent thither from a town in Thrace, where there were more dies at disposal than were used? Mr. Bunbury admits that there are numerous instances among the coins of the Ptolemies, where the portrait of the obverse is from the same die, though the reverses bear the mint-marks of different cities of Phœnicia; but he thinks that this proves nothing with regard to the present question, because the Ptolemaic coins belong to places not far removed from one another, and which formed a part of the same political system. To this it may be replied, that Thrace and Caria were provinces of the same monarchy, and that in a case like this it is of little consequence whether the cities

³ The notice of Mr. Bunbury has induced me to examine the specimens of these two coins in our cabinet. There are two of No. 112, one of No. 445*a*. I have found that they are from different dies.

were more or less distant from each other. It may finally be remarked, that the tetradrachms presenting the simple racing-torch, with regard to the features, the character, and the execution of the head, more resemble those from the Asiatic cities than those from the places of mintage in the European countries.⁴ But, on the whole, there must not be laid much stress upon the fabric, when it is to be decided from which cities the coins of Lysimachus, struck during his lifetime, really issued.

The two above-mentioned tetradrachms from the same die have the caduceus and the torch before the figure, the bee behind it. There is a third tetradrachm in Mr. Bunbury's collection, which has a caduceus before and a cornucopiæ behind the figure, and which presents almost precisely the same style of work. In order to solve the difficulty apparently attached to the classification of these three coins, he proposes to regard the symbols behind the figure as being no city-symbols (p. 7). This expedient cannot be admitted. As for the place the marks occupy on the field, nothing can be deduced from it. On the coins of Alexander and Lysimachus the same marks appear often in different places, and the city-symbol is not seldom to be found behind the figure; see the plates to the coinage of Alexander, Nos. 151, 152; 247, 248; 373, 374; 598—600; 662, 663, 664, 665, &c.; and to that of Lysimachus, Nos. 360—364. A great number of the regal coins offer two accessory symbols, which undoubtedly both indicate

⁴ For the question here treated I have examined the coins of Lysimachus which, either in originals or in casts, are at my disposal in a considerable number. It may specially be remarked, that the head of No. 442 is almost identical with those of Nos. 381, 381*a*, 403, and 445, and that the head of No. 445*a* is very like that of No. 443.

cities, and are to be explained as indicatory of a monetary alliance.⁵ The two symbols behind the figure, which are now under consideration, indicate cities on other coins of Lysimachus. We cannot wonder at finding the mark of *Ænus* (the caduceus) combined with that of Ephesus (the bee); it is quite natural that these two maritime towns, for the sake of commerce, had connection with one another; on imperial coins, as is well known, the name of another Thracian town, Perinthus, is found, together with that of Ephesus and that of Smyrna. On the same page, Mr. Bunbury says (note 6) I have laid down as a principle, that the accessory symbols on the regal coins are *in all cases* symbols of cities. The assertion is not quite correct. In "*Numismatique d'Alexandre*" I only say (p. 37), that these symbols are *in general* to be regarded as city-symbols. I remark (p. 39), that several of them rather indicate provinces or countries—viz., the Macedonian helm and shield, the bipennis of the Carian Jupiter, the palm-tree, &c.; and that some others probably are the emblems of the kings Lysimachus and Seleucus, in whose dominions the coins have been struck. It is possible that some of them have been the escutcheons or signets of magistrates or mint-masters, like those which occur on the autonomous coins of the Greek cities, and on the coins of the Roman republic; but I have nowhere found sufficient reason for explaining any of them in that way.

As for the town to which we must refer the coins with the racing-torch associated to the Mæander, their attribution to Chrysaoris seems to Mr. Bunbury to be a very

⁵ *Numismatique d'Alexandre*, pp. 40—46. *Münzen des Lysimachus*, p. 16.

uncertain one, because Stratonicea was so distant from the Mæander and no coins are left with the name of Chrysaoris; he adds that the existence of Chrysaoris rests on the authority of Stephanus Byzantius, and that the evidence of its connection with Stratonicea is by no means conclusive (p. 9, note 8). We may plead against this as follows:—It is said in Pausanias v. 21 (10) that Stratonicea had formerly been called Chrysaoris, and this has, in modern times, been supported by valid reasons.⁶ When examining the autonomous coins from that part of Asia Minor through which the Mæander flowed, a racing-torch will be found only on those of Stratonicea, where it is of frequent occurrence; being allusive to the cult of Hecate, from which the city had also the name of Hecatesia,⁷ it must be regarded as an emblem very convenient to represent the city. On the coins in question the racing-torch is to be considered as the principal emblem of the city, the Mæander as a subordinate one, added to indicate the country; the intention to show that the torch was not the mark of Amphipolis, as on the other regal coins, may have been the very reason for associating the Mæander with it. It is also possible that the Mæander did not indicate the city itself, but denoted a monetary alliance with Magnesia, Priene, or some other of the towns which made use of this emblem; the district of Chrysaoris was connected with the Mæander by the stream Marsyas, and with the towns on the Latmian Gulf, into which the Mæander ran, by a high-road.

⁶ See Eckhel, *Nummi vet. anecdoti*, pp. 210—11; Boeckh, *Corpus inscr. ii.*, p. 473, p.p.

⁷ *Münzen des Lysimachus*, p. 82.

I have shown it to be probable that the coins of Lysimachus bearing the mark of Byzantium were struck by the city after his time from commercial motives.⁸ Mr. Bunbury agrees with me that the greater part of them belong to a period after the death of that monarch; but he thinks that the coinage originated in his lifetime, and he confesses himself at a loss to understand from what motives it should have been adopted in the first instance after his decease (p. 13). I have already explained these motives in my researches on the coinage of Alexander;⁹ but Mr. Bunbury appears not to have been aware of this; at least, he has made no mention of it. The free Greek cities watched with great circumspection over their autonomy, even over the external signs of it. If Byzantium, which preserved without doubt its independency throughout this whole period, had struck coins similar to those of Lysimachus, it would have been regarded as a mark of subjection under this king, who ruled over the surrounding country; after his death, this reason no longer existed.¹⁰

Mr. Bunbury is further disposed to think that a gold stater, also of Lysimachus, in his collection, was struck in his reign at Chalcedon, though this city, according to the historical dates, seems not to have belonged to his possessions. But he admits that the attribution of this coin to Chalcedon is a mere conjecture, because it has no

⁸ Münzen des Lysimachus, pp. 27—30, and pp. 55—56.

⁹ Numismatique d'Alexandre, pp. 59—60; conf. Münzen des Lysimachus, p. 21, note 4.

¹⁰ The tetradrachms of Lysimachus and Alexander, which have been assigned to Byzantium by Mr. Babington in the Numismatic Chronicle, 1865, pp. 181—182, do not belong to this city; the monograms are personal marks, and do not denote the name of Byzantium.

city-symbol, and only contains a monogram, about which he thinks it by no means certain that it is that of a city. Indeed, it is highly improbable that this coin belongs to Chalcedon; it has nothing, neither the fabric nor the mint-marks, in common with the series of Lysimachus coins which present the abbreviated name of Chalcedon. The monogram is doubtless that of a person, and the coin must be referred to the numerous class of Lysimachus coins that have no mark indicating a city, but only marks of mint-masters.

L. MÜLLER.

Copenhagen.

II.

ON THE COIN OF KNOSOS WITH THE LEGEND ΠΟΛΧΟΣ.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January, 20th, 1870.]

THE late Mr. John Hogg,¹ in his interesting paper on some coins of Krete, referred to in a note in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1868 (p. 176), has satisfactorily demolished the supposition, rather hastily adopted by Messrs. Liddell and Scott from Chishull, that the word ΠΟΛΧΟΣ on the obverse of one of those coins was only a form of the word ἑλχος or ἔχλος; and he concurs with Eckhel in considering that it is the name of a magistrate.

Mr. Hogg, however, would not seem to have been aware of Colonel Leake's interpretation of the word. In that learned writer's "Numismata Hellenica" (Ins. Gr., p. 9), he thus describes the obverse of a coin, from an electrotpe in his collection, taken from a specimen in the British Museum :—

"ΠΟΛΧΟΣ (Cretan or local form of πολιοῦχος). Head of Apollo to left."

(The coin is engraved in Gessner. Vol. i. t. xxxij. n. 25).

Leake gives no authority for his explanation of the

¹ Mr. Hogg died in September, 1869.

word Πολυος; but it certainly appears to be a less forced one than that given by Chishull. And it might at first seem less appropriate to have the name of a magistrate placed in juxta-position with the head of a deity than such an epithet as *Guardian of the City*. It may also perhaps be considered more consonant to the general practice of Grecian coinage to place the name of a magistrate on the reverse rather than the obverse of a coin as in some instances of the brass coins of this very city.²

But, plausible as all this may appear, there is reason to think that Leake was in error, and that Eckhel and Mr. Hogg were right in considering the word ΠΟΛΥΟΣ as the name of a magistrate; for there are instances on the coins of other Kretan cities where a magistrate's name does appear on the obverse, and in juxta-position with the head of a deity; not to lay much stress on another coin of *Knosos* itself, where the word ΝΙΚΑ appears on the obverse with a male head, bearded and diademate, probably intended for Minos;³ as that word may possibly mean only *Victory*. For example: among the coins of the city *Kudonia*, we find one obverse with the head of Artemis, and the legend ΠΑΣΙΩΝ;⁴ and another with the the head of Pallas, and the legend ΑΙΩΩΝ.⁵

² The following are the reverses of some brass coins of *Knosos*, as given by Eckhel, vol. ii. pp. 308-9:—

“ΜΝΑΣΙΘΕΟΣ. *Aquila stans explicatis alis.*”

“ΚΥΔΑΣ. *Aquila,*” &c.

“ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ. *Aquila,*” &c.

“ΘΑΡΣΥΔΙΚΑΣ, vel: ΑΥΡΙΑΔΑΒ. *Phaetrea pendentibus loris.*”

³ “ΝΙΚΑ (etiam sine hoc) *Caput barbatur, diadematum* ∞ ΚΝΩΣΙΩΝ. *Labyrinthus.*” Eck., ii., 308.

⁴ “ΠΑΣΙΩΝ. *Caput Dianae cum pharetrâ et arcu.*” Eck., ii. 310. See also Leake s.v. CYDONIA Crotæ.

⁵ “ΑΙΩΩΝ. *Caput Palladis.*” Eck. l.c.

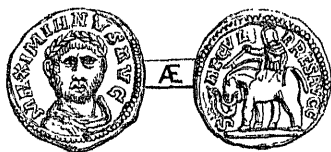
With regard to this last, indeed, the learned Dutens was of opinion that the word might be considered as an epithet of Pallas, derived from *αἶθεω* (*to burn, to shine*), and equivalent to *flava*;⁶ in which opinion he was followed by Villoison. But, as Eckhel pertinently remarks, if we are to take ΑΙΘΩΝ as a cognomen of Pallas, we must consider ΠΑΣΙΩΝ as one of Artemis; or, if the latter is the name of a magistrate, why not the former? Eckhel points out also that it was a Greek proper name, being the one assumed by Odysseus on his return to Ithake;⁷ and that even Dutens himself mentions it as occurring on a coin of *Lusimachos*.

It may therefore be considered as established that these two names, placed in connection with the heads of deities, on coins of a Kretan city, are those of magistrates; and they afford a strong confirmation of the view advocated by Mr. Hogg, that the word ΠΟΛΧΟΣ, on the coin of *Knosos*, is also that of a magistrate.

T. J. ARNOLD.

⁶ "Explic. de quelq. Méd." p. 65. Lond. 1776.

⁷ In his fictitious account of himself to Penelope, when he feigns to be the younger son of Deukalion of Krete.—"*ἐμὸι δ' ὄνομα κλυτὸν Αἰθῶν, Ὀπλότερος γενεῇ.*" T. 183.



III.

AN UNPUBLISHED COIN OF MAXIMIAN.

Obv.—MAXIMIANVS AVG. Bust front, bearded, laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—SAECVLARES AVGG. Man riding on elephant, left.

I HAVE brought this coin into notice, not only for its curiosity, as being an unpublished full-face coin of Maximian, but also for its interest as proving the celebration of the Ludi Sæculares during the reign of Maximian Hercules. During the time of the Republic these games were called the Ludi Tarentini, after the name of Tarentum, in the Campus Martius. Augustus being urged on by the quindecimviri, appointed Atenis Capito to determine arrangements for the ceremonies, and Horace was ordered to compose his well-known "Carmen Sæculare." The name Ludi Sæculares designates the intention of their being celebrated every century. Before beginning, heralds were ordered solemnly to invite the people to come and witness them. "Convenite ad ludos spectandos, quos nec spectavit

quisquam, nec spectaturus est." This intention was not, however, long observed, because we find that, A.D. 47, in the reign of Claudius, these Ludi were again celebrated, "and that the people laughed because not only did some survive who remembered having already seen them, but also some actors appeared who had taken part in the former games." Domitian, A.D. 88, again violated this rule, and ordered the Ludi Sæculares to be performed. Sacrifices were offered to the gods, to the Parcæ, to Dis, and Proserpina, and their images were led in procession on carriages (in thensis et ferculis). Chariot races, running, leaping, &c., were carried on during three days, and the ceremonies closed with solemn sacrifices.

Diocletian, following the example of his prototype, Marcus Aurelius, determined on taking a colleague, and chose Maximian. Born of very humble parents. Maximian had already distinguished himself in the field by his valour, but his other qualities were better fitted for a soldier than for a general, and Diocletian was often called upon to use his influence in behalf of criminals sacrificed with relentless ardour by his colleague. The repeated attacks of barbarians convinced Diocletian that the empire required on every side, not only the presence of a large army, but also that of an emperor, and induced him once more to divide the empire, choosing Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus as his colleagues, and granting them the lesser title of Cæsar. The empire was then divided as follows: Gaul, Spain, and Britain were handed over to Constantius; Galerius defended the Illyrian provinces; Maximian Italy and Africa; Diocletian Asia, Thrace, and Egypt.

In the year 287 the Roman general, Carausius, sailed from Boulogne (Gessoriacum) to Britain, and easily per-

suaded, by means of his wealth, the legion appointed to guard this island to proclaim him emperor; and such was his skill, both as a general and an admiral, that he defeated the armies sent against him by Maximian, and forced both Diocletian and Maximian to acknowledge his title.

When, however, Constantius was appointed Cæsar, A.D. 292, he instantly began preparations for a war with Carausius, in which he displayed great generalship, rescuing Boulogne after a most obstinate defence. The death of Carausius, and the defeat and death of his successor, Allectus, restored Britain once more to the sway of the Roman emperors after a separation of ten years.

I cannot find any mention of the *Ludi Sæculares* being celebrated during the reigns of Diocletian and Maximianus. Eutropius, however, gives a long account of the triumph commemorating the twentieth year of the reign of Diocletian, at which Maximian was his companion, and the fact of the Persian victory added additional lustre to the well-earned laurels of the wise Diocletian, who, two years afterwards, A.D. 305, abdicated, compelling Maximian to follow his example.

In the year 310 Constantine, enraged by a false report of his death, circulated by Maximian for the purpose of regaining the throne, returned from an expedition against the Franks, and, hastening to Arles, defeated the army of Maximian, putting him to death, A.D. 310.

The curious circumstance of two emperors of the same name reigning at the same time has caused some confusion in the classification of their coins, and the rules written by Mr. Cohen deserve special attention, not only for their clearness, but also for the care which has been

taken in forming them. (Vol. v., p. 432.) I also add a list which I have made of the legends on the obverse of the coins of Maximian and their mints. The arrangement of the Roman series in the British Museum by Mr. de Salis, according to mints and types, however open to criticism, is of exceeding value, as showing the classification followed by the most learned Roman Numismatist in England. I have made out this list geographically, as many of our readers may not perhaps agree with the arrangement of types as they stand at present in the cabinets of the Medal Room.

LEGENDS ON OBERSE OF COINS OF MAXIMIAN HERCULES.

- IMP MAXIMIANVS AVG. Carthage, Lugdunum, Treviri.
 IMP MAXIMIANVS PIVS AVG. Treviri.
 IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Aquileia, Lugdunum, Rome, Siscia, Treviri.
 IMP MAXIMIANVS SEN AVG. Carthage.
 IMP C MAXIMIANVS AVG. Cyzicus, Gaul, Lugdunum, Rome.
 IMP C MAXIMIANVS P AVG. Gaul.
 IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Alexandria, Antioch, Aquileia, Carthage, Cyzicus, Gaul, Heraclea, Londinium, Lugdunum, Nicomedia, Rome, Serdica, Tarascon, Thessalonica.
 IMP C M VAL MAXIMIANVS AVG. Spain.
 IMP C M VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Serdica, Siscia.
 IMP C VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG and P AVG. Gaul, Lugdunum.
 IMP C M AVR VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Antioch, Treviri.
 IMP M AVR VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Rome, Spain.

MAXIMIANVS AVG. Alexandria, Antioch, Aquileia, Carthage,
Gaul, Heraclea, Nicomedia, Rome, Siscia, Thessalonica.

MAXIMIANVS AVGVSTVS. Antioch, Aquileia, Nicomedia,
Siscia, Tarascon.

MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Aquileia, Londinium, Lugdunum,
Nicomedia, Rome, Tarascon.

MAXIMIANVS SEN P F AVG. Romo.

ABDICATION.

D N MAXIMIANO BEATISSIMO SEN AVG. Antioch,
Aquileia, Cyzicus, Serdica, Tarascon.

D N MAXIMIANO FELICIS SEN AVG. Rome.

D N MAXIMIANO FELICISSIMO SEN AVG. Antioch,
Aquileia, Heraclea, Londinium, Lugdunum, Serdica,
Tarascon.

D N MAXIMIANO P F AVG. Londinium.

D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG. Lugdunum.

D N MAXIMIANO SEN INV AVG. Aquileia.

S. F. CORKRAN.

IV.

COINS OF ÆLFRED THE GREAT.

THE accompanying plates of the coins of Ælfred the Great, drawn by the writer from the originals, then in the collections of the gentlemen whose names appear in the following pages (most of whom have since passed away from this life), and in the British Museum, and engraved by the late Mr. W. Bevan of Hull, and Mr. W. McDowall of Dublin, were intended to form part of a comprehensive work on the coinage of England from the coming of the Angles to the Norman Conquest, of which the first part was published in 1845, and noticed in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of that year.

When it was proposed to commemorate the millenary of the birth of this greatest and worthiest of our kings, by a complete edition of his works, accompanied by illustrative essays by different hands, these plates were offered by the writer as his contribution to the furtherance of this design. That work, unfortunately, was never completed.

They are now presented to the Numismatic Society, in the hope that they may be useful to its members, and to corresponding Societies abroad.

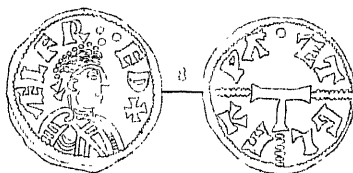
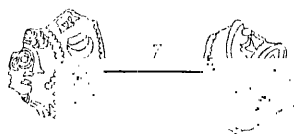
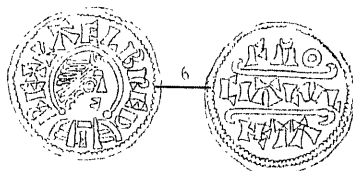
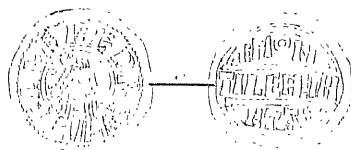
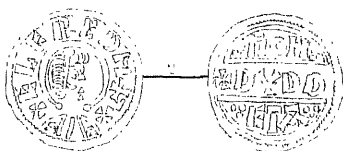
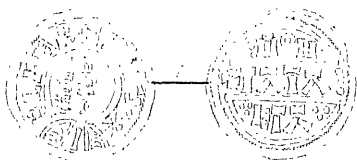
1. ELFERED M⁻X+ Bust to the right.
 +TATA MONETA Moneyer's name between two semi-circular segments enclosing his designation. Brit. Mus., Pl. I., fig. 1.
2. +ELFRED MX⁻+ } Same types as last. W. H. Shop-
 +DVDD MONETA } pard, Esq. Brit. Mus., Pl. I., fig. 2.

The occurrence of the letters MX on these two coins is remarkable. There are coins of Æthelred, Ælfred's brother, of the same type as these, with the legend REX + AEDELRED M, which might be supposed to indicate a claim on his part to the sovereignty of the Mercians. But such can hardly be the meaning of these letters on the above. I have thought it possible that the X may be *Chi* of the Greek alphabet, and these letters an abbreviation of *μόναρχος* (as if these coins were minted when the death of Æthelred left Ælfred in possession of the sole power); and we have other instances of the use of Greek characters in legends of this period.¹ Or, again, that X may be the rune *Gifu*, and so the word may be *mago*, *mæg*, *meg*, "Kinsman;" as if these coins were of the time when Ælfred was associated with his brother, A.D. 868 to 871.² The latter explanation is perhaps the more probable; but if one be sought which will embrace the coins of Æthelred as well, these letters may be supposed to express the name of the place of mintage. This view I once adopted, but I have never been able to discover any local name to justify it.

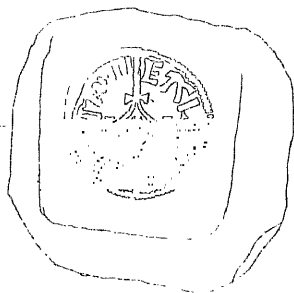
¹ Thus the *Gamma* appears in the name of the moneyer SITERED, *Sigfred*, on a coin of Eadmund of the East Angles, and on the seal of Ethilwald, Bishop of Dunwich.

² This rune appears in the name of a moneyer of Eadmund, RAEXENHEBE, *Regenhere* (B being a blunder for R).

AR



10
PL



3. ELFFERED REX } Same types. Brit. Mus.,
 TILEWEINE MONETA } Pl. I., fig. 3.

These three coins are very different in their workmanship from those, of similar types, which follow; and in this respect they more nearly resemble the coin of Æthelred, above referred to, than any others of his coins.

4. + AELBRED REX Bust to the right.

CIALMOD MONETA Type similar to the above, but the arcs distinct from the bases of the segments. Brit. Mus., Pl. I., fig. 4.

Of this type I have observed the following names of moneyers:—

BIARNVLF	HEBEOCA	SIGESTEF
BOSA	IARNRED	TIDBALD
CIALMOD	MANNING	VVIEARD } Probably
DEIGMVND	OSHERE	VVLEARD } VVLFARD
DVNN	SEFRED	

5. Same legend and type.

SIEESTEF (*i.e.*, *Sigestef*) MONETA. This type differs from that of the three first in having the arcs of the segments broken in the middle and curved inwards. I know of no other specimen of this type. Brit. Mus., Pl. I., fig. 5.

6. Same legend and type.

CIALVLF MONETA In three lines separated by bars curved at ends. Brit. Mus., Pl. I., fig. 6.

On other coins of this type the moneyers' names, DVING (for *Dunning*) and EDELVLF, occur.

Coins of the three last types are always of very base metal, and, like those of Æthelred, and of Burgred, King of the Mercians, rarely exceed twenty grains in weight. The spelling of the royal name with B for F is remarkable; no other instance of this spelling is to be found on

the coins of Ælfred, although it is not uncommon in charters, and sometimes occurs in the moneyers' names of other kings. I place these coins first, because their resemblance to the coins of Æthelred and Burgred leads me to regard them as Ælfred's earliest coinage. Of that which I think should follow, a fragment only remains.

7. (ÆLFR)ED REX Bust to the right.

(EÐER)ED M(ONET)A Four arcs of a quatrefoil, springing from the ends of a cross, in the angles of which are wedges contained in an inner circle; the four last letters of the legend placed in the angles of the quatrefoil, the rest between it and the circle. Brit. Mus., Pl. I., fig. 7.

There can be no doubt of the correctness of my restoration of the reverse legend, the remains of which are exactly the same as on a beautiful unique penny of of Archbishop Ethered in the same collection (its obverse presenting a royal bust, surrounded by the prelate's name and title); and as Æthelred's coins are of two types only, one of which is the same as that of those described above as the earliest of Ælfred's coins, I think it more probable that this is one of Ælfred's, than that it belongs to his brother. Still it may have been a Kentish type, and so of Æthelred's reign. This question can only be decided by the discovery of a perfect specimen.

The two coins which follow are the only ones to which we cannot satisfactorily assign a place in the series, since they differ in their types from all the rest.

8. ÆLFRED† Bust to the right.

ÆT GLEAWA A *Tau*, connected at its extremities with the edge of the piece by beaded lines. Brit. Mus., Pl. I., fig. 8.

This coin is remarkable on several accounts; its type.

—rather heathen than Christian, for the Tau is a form of the hammer of Thor, as we see it on the coins of Ragnolt and Sitric, kings of the Northumbrian Danes ;—its reverse legend in English, instead of in Latin ; the prefix *æt* to the name of the mint ; and its being the earliest coin known of that mint, viz., *Gleawauccaster*, Gloucester. The prefix *æt* to local names was not unusual ; the following instances may be adduced in illustration :—

“Bissenos agros quam incolæ hujusce regionis sic vocitant, *Æt Ulenbeorge*.”—Charter of Cænred, King of the Mercians, A.D. 709.

“In loco qui dicitur *æt Beathum* xc manentium, et in aliis multis locis : hoc est *æt Stretforda* xxx. cassatos ; *æt Sture* xxxviii ; simili etiam vocabulo *æt Sture* in *Usmerum* xiiii. manentium ; *æt Breodune* xii,” &c.—Charter of Heathored, Bishop of Worcester, A.D. 781.

“In loco qui dicitur *et Sandwic*.”
 “In villâ quæ dicitur *et Chippanhama*.” } Simeon of Durham.

9. + AELFRÆD REX written cross-wise.

+ LYDA MON in the interstices of a cruciform floreated device. Wm. Assheton, Esq., Pl. I., fig. 9.

For neatness and elegance, this coin has no parallel save in the beautiful series of Offa, King of the Mercians, some specimen of which may indeed have suggested the reverse type. The arrangement of the obverse legend resembles that of the reverses of the coins of Æthelwulf and Æthelberht.

10. + ÆLFRED REX SAX Bust to the right.

EADVLƿ MONETA A cross saltire within a lozenge, which is connected with the margin of the coin by beaded lines issuing from each angle ; three pellets at one side. Rev. T. F. Dymock, Pl. II., fig. 1.

11. ELFRED REX Similar bust.

LIAFVALD MON Similar type, but with a cross bar at each angle of the lozenge. W. Assheton, Esq., Pl. II., fig. 2.

12. ÆLFRED REX } Same type, obverse and reverse.
EALDVL(F MON) } Pl. I., fig. 10.

This is not a coin, but a trial-piece of lead, half an inch thick, and nearly an inch and a half square. It is defaced on the obverse, apparently to prevent an improper use being made of it. It was found during the progress of some excavations in St. Paul's Churchyard, London, in 1841, and passed into Mr. Charles Roach Smith's magnificent collection of London antiquities.

13. ÆLFRED REX S Similar bust.

DVNNA MONETA Same type, with a pellet on each side of the lozenge. J. D. Cuff, Esq., Pl. II., fig. 3.

14. ELFRED REX Similar bust.

+ OTRHTMVND (*Torhtmund*). The lines which connect the lozenge with the margin are not beaded in this specimen. Brit. Mus., Pl. II., fig. 4.

15. ÆLFRED REX SAX Similar bust.

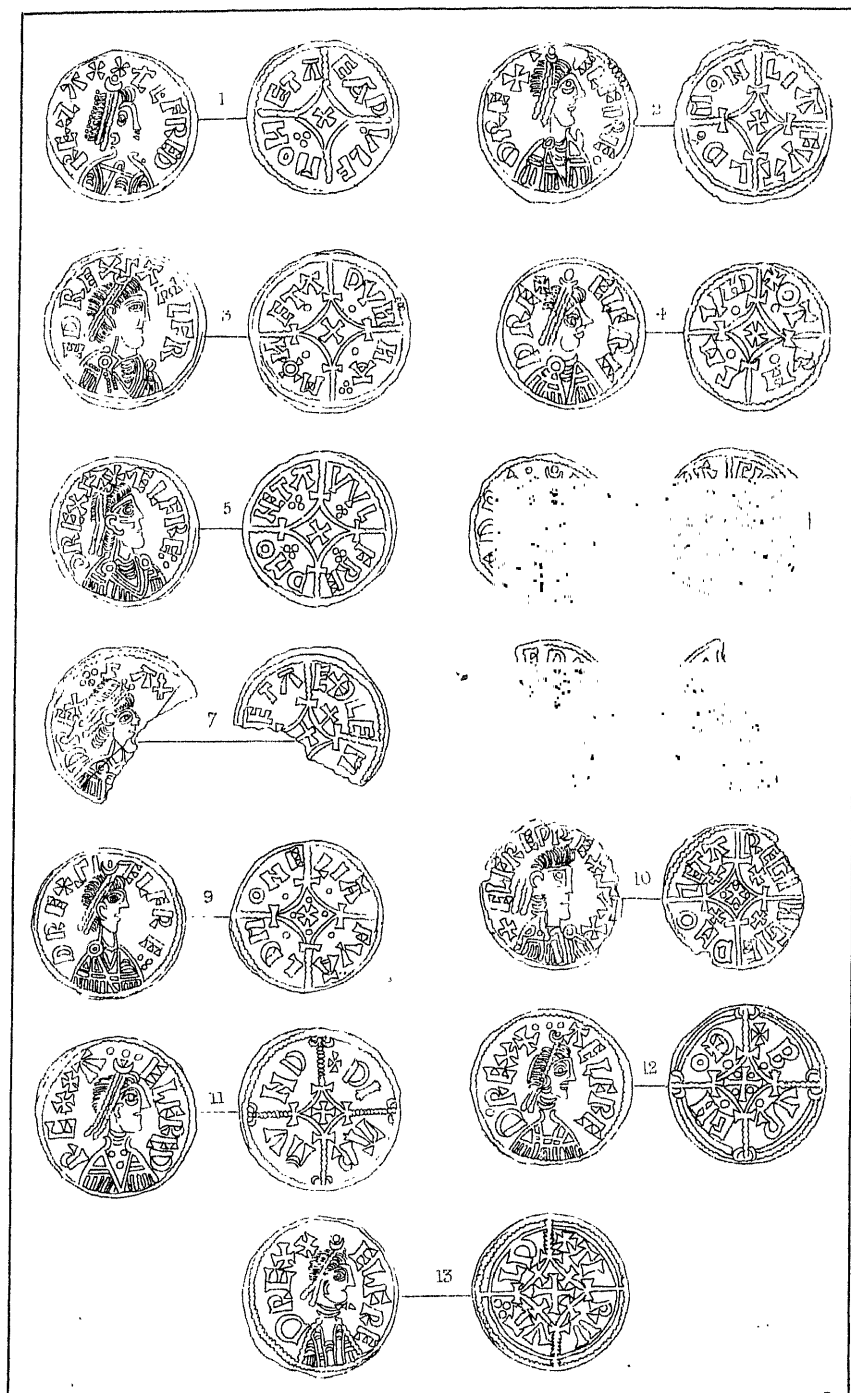
VVLFRD MONETA As 13, but with three pellets on each side of the lozenge. W. Assheton, Esq., Pl. II., fig. 5.

16. ELFRED RE Similar bust.

CIOLVVLF MONETA Similar type, with an ornament attached to each side of the lozenge. Brit. Mus., Pl. II., fig. 6.

17. (ÆLFRE)D REX SAX Similar bust.

EDLEM(OD MON)ETA Similar type, with a cross attached to one side of the lozenge. Brit. Mus., Pl. II., fig. 7.



18. (ÆLFR)ED REX SAX Similar bust.
 (CIOLVV)LF MONETA Similar type, with a cross attached to each side of the lozenge. Brit. Mus., Pl. II., fig. 8.
19. ÆLFRED REX SI Similar bust.
 LIAFVALD MONE Similar type, with a pellet on each side of the lozenge externally, and in each angle internally. Rev. J. W. Martin, Pl. II., fig. 9.
20. + ÆLFRED REX SAX Similar bust.
 REGINGIED (*Regingild*) MONETA This differs from the last in having a cross instead of a pellet on each side of the lozenge. J. D. Cuff, Esq., Pl. II., fig. 10.
21. + AELFRED REX Similar bust.
 + DIARMVND As 11, but the central cross is not saltire, and a crescent is attached to each side of the beaded lines where they join the margin of the coin. Brit. Mus., Pl. II., fig. 11.
22. + AELFRED REX Similar bust.
 + BVRG NOÐ Similar type; a pellet at each side of the lozenge, another in each angle of the central cross, and a curved line connecting each opposite pair of crescents. J. Kenyon, Esq., Pl. II., fig. 12.
23. + ÆLFRED REX Similar bust.
 + TIRVVALD Similar type; a bar across each side of the lozenge; two of the lines connecting the lozenge with the margin indented, two plain; no crescents nor pellets; a plain marginal line within the usual beaded margin. W. Assheton, Esq., Pl. II., fig. 13.

Of this type, Nos. 20 and 21, and a fragment in the collection of the late Sir John Twisden, were all that were known before the disinterment of the Cuerdale hoard, which furnished fifteen specimens, including the fragments 17 and 18. Its identity with the more common type of the coins of Ceolwulf II., King of the Mercians, A.D. 874, enables us to determine its date about that year.

There is a marked difference in workmanship between those which have the title *Rex* (11, 12, 14, 16, 21, 22, 23), and those which have *Rex Saxonum* (10, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20); some of the former, closely resembling the the coins of Ceolwulf, may be regarded as having been minted in some part of Mercia, whilst the latter probably were issued in Ælfred's paternal dominions, and the busts on these (especially 13 and 15), are close imitations of those on the coins of the Roman emperors.

The following are all the names of moneyers which have occurred on coins of this type:—

BVRGNOÐ	EALDVLF	TORHTMVND
CIOLVVLF	EDEL(MOD)	REGINGILD
DIARMVND	HEAHSTAN	TIRVVALD
DVNNA	LIAFVALD	VVLFRED
EADVLF	LVLLA	

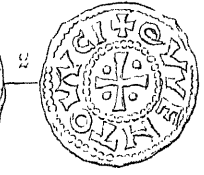
Before I proceed to notice the London coins of Ælfred, I must draw the attention of my readers to two coins which are not indeed English, but are the evidence of the former existence of English coins of the same type, and hold out to us the expectation of such being discovered at some future time. In my "Essay on the coins of the East Angles," I have noticed coins of two princes, Oswald and Ethelred, on which we are presented with a type—originally French but adopted by them,—the front or portico of a church; and here we have two others of the same type, which are evidently blundered imitations of coins of English kings.

AELRF REX Front of a church.

+ QVENTOVVICI A cross with a pellet in each angle.

EDE NAT RIEX	} Same types.	Brit. Mus., Pl. VII.,
+ QVENTOVVICI		

figs. 1, 2.



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



D. H. Haigh. Del.

This place, *Quentowic*, is already notorious for blundered imitations of the coins of Guthfrith-Cnut, for all the coins of this mint found at Cuerdale and elsewhere were evidently blundered, not one of them presenting anything like a correct legend on its obverse; and here we have from the same mint two other blundered imitations of coins of Ælfred and of Ethelstan; for there can be no doubt that the obverse legends of these coins are intended for AELFRED REX, and EDELSTAN REX, respectively. It would appear probable that the Northmen, when they went to France, carried English money with them, and employed ignorant moneyers to strike coins in imitation of them during their occupation of *Quentowic*. It is to be observed that, on genuine French coins of this type, the legend on the church-front side is always either XPISTIANA RELIGIO, or the name of the place of mintage. Only on the undoubtedly English coins above referred to, and on these blundered coins, do we find the type used as an obverse, accompanying the name and title of the king. It seems to me, then, extremely probable that future discoveries of coins lost or concealed about the year 880, may make known to us genuine pièces of this type, both of Ælfred and of Ethelstan, and for this reason I give these two pieces a place in the accompanying plates of Ælfred's coins.

ALF DENE XRX+ (legend transposed, and in part retrograde). Victory hovering over two emperors seated; a device copied from the coins of Valentinian and others of the lower empire.

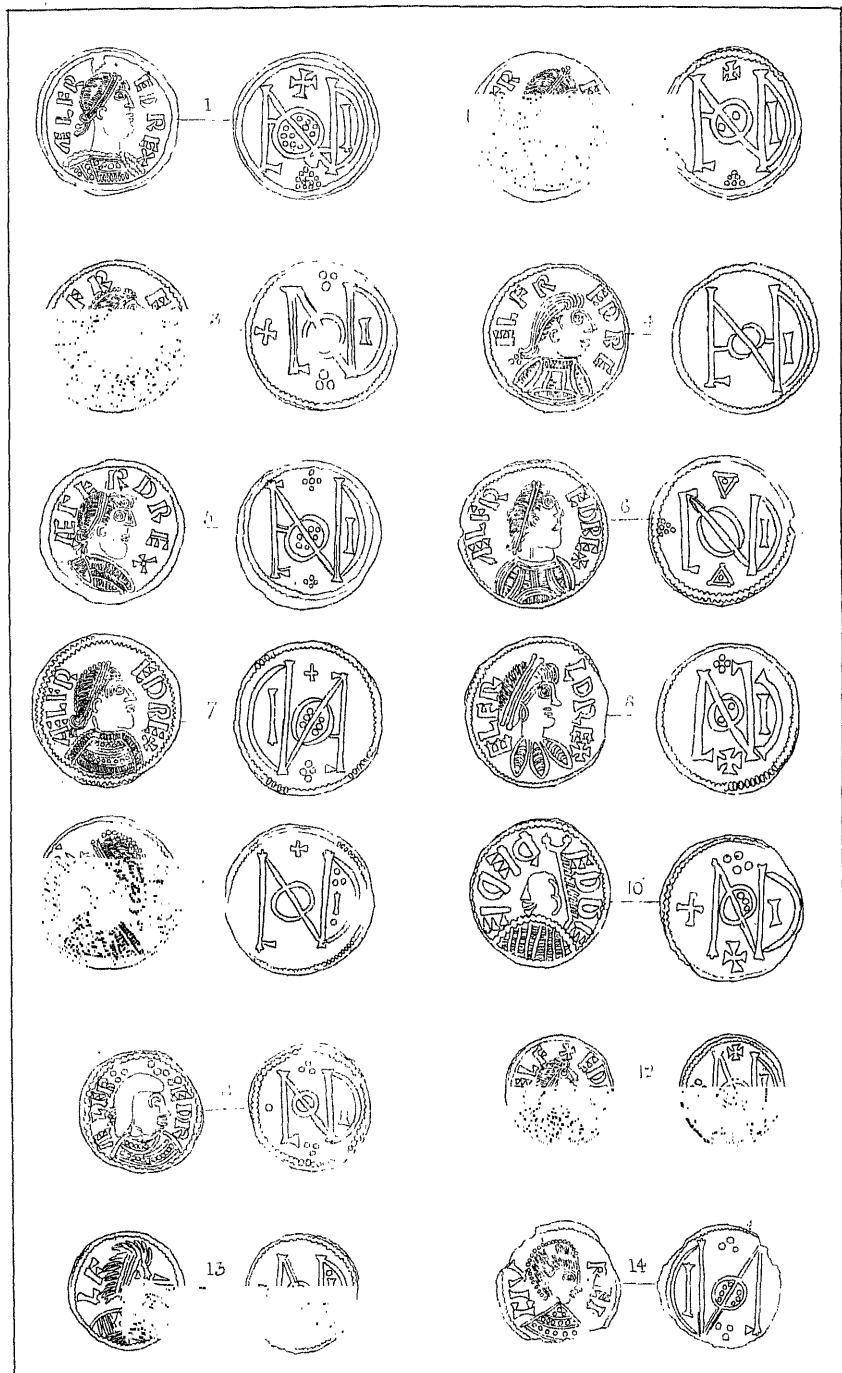
LONDONIA in monogram. Andrew Moore, Esq., M.D., Pl. VII., fig. 3.

This coin belongs to Halfdene, who is first mentioned as a leader of the Danes at the battle of Ashdown, A.D. 870.

Their army occupied London in 871, destroyed it, moved northwards, and wintered at Torksey, in Lincolnshire, in 872; and Halfdene, after having established his sovereignty in Northumbria in 875, perished in battle at Strangford Lough, in Ireland, two years later. The date of this coin, therefore, is certainly A.D. 871 or 872, and it is a valuable aid to the determination of the period of mintage of the following. Its obverse type is the same as that of the reverse of Mr. Assheton's beautiful and unique penny of Ceolwulf II., figured in Mr. Hawkins' account of the Cuerdale coins.

24. ÆLFRED REX Bust to the right. J. D. Cuff, Esq.
Pl. III., fig. 1.
25. ÆLFRED REX Bust to the right. J. Kenyon, Esq.
Pl. III., fig. 2.
26. ELFRED RX Bust to the right. J. Kenyon, Esq.,
Pl. III., fig. 3.
27. ELFRED RE Bust to the right. Brit. Mus., Pl. III., fig. 4.
28. ÆLFRED REX " " " fig. 5.
29. ÆLFRED REX " " " fig. 6.
30. ÆLFRED REX " " " fig. 7.
31. ELFRID REX " " " fig. 8.
32. ÆLFRED R Bust to the right. J. A. Wigan, Esq.,
Pl. III., fig. 11.
33. ÆLFXED REX Bust to the right. W. Assheton, Esq.,
Pl. III., fig. 12.
34. ÆLFRED RE Bust to the right. John Brumell, Esq.,
Pl. VII., fig. 5.
35. ÆELF Bust to the right. Brit. Mus., Pl. III., fig. 13.
36. LIVREI Bust to the right. W. H. Sheppard, Esq.,
Pl. III., fig. 14.

The monogram on the reverse of all these coins contains the letters LONDONI or LONDONIA (the form which occurs in Asser's "Life of Ælfred," contemporary



authority), the O and N doing double duty, and the A, when present, being formed by a line connecting the vertical stroke of the L with the O. On some of these pieces the characteristic stroke of the L is wanting, on others marks are added which can only be regarded as blunders.

The last five are half-pennies, all that are known of this class of Ælfred's coins, and the earliest specimens of this denomination of money that have occurred in the English series. Nos. 32 and 34, were found at different times amongst gravel dredged from the Thames; 33 and 35 are from the Cuerdale hoard; and 36 was in Mr. Sheppard's collection for many years prior to that discovery.

On two coins of this class the bust is turned to the left, and the legend retrograde.

37. ÆLFRED RE Andrew Moore, Esq., M.D., Pl. III., fig. 9.

38. ÆLLIED RE Rev. T. F. Dymock, Pl. VII., fig. 4.

Another reads distinctly,

39. EDERED RE W. Assheton, Esq., Pl. III., fig. 10.

I have engraved this as a blundered coin of Ælfred, and blundered it certainly is; yet the legend is much nearer to the name of his brother than to his, and as it is certain that the coin of Halfdene must be of the years 871 or 872, and Æthelred died in the former of these years, it is by no means improbable that he had a coinage of this type in London, which Ælfred continued after the government of that city was placed in his hands by Æthelred. It would seem, then, that this coinage was of the first years

of Ælfred's reign. The royal bust on all these coins has a distinct and peculiar character, very unlike those which appear on the contemporary coins of other parts of Ælfred's dominions.

The two following, although they do not bear the royal name, are of the same class, and about the same date as the foregoing.

40. ✧EROT✧+BOLT (*Frotbolt*). Bust to the right, of a character altogether different from any of those on Ælfred's coins.

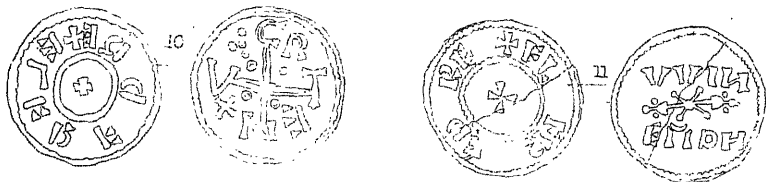
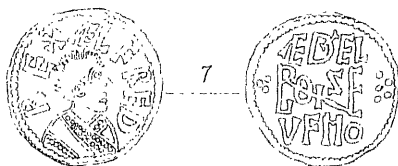
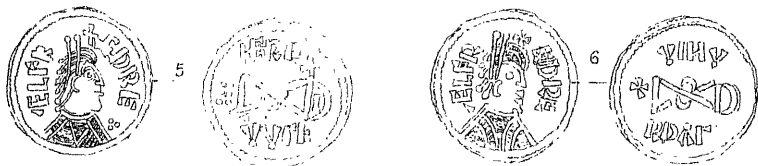
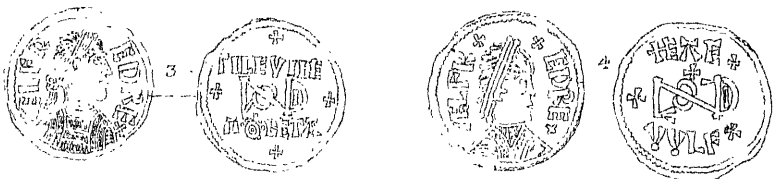
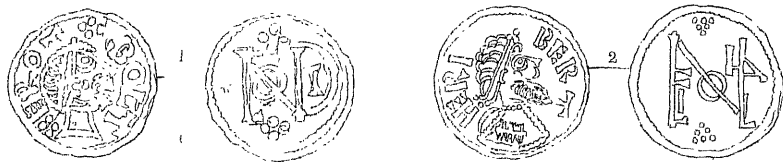
LONDONI in monogram. Brit. Mus., Pl. IV., fig. 1.

I am inclined to refer this piece to the year of the Danish occupation of London, and to suppose it the work of a Frank attached to the Danish cause; for the spelling of the name, which may be compared with *Ragnolt* for *Rægenald* on some Northumbrian coins, *Deinolt*, a coiner of the *Sc: Eadmund* money, and *Everat* in the sequel, is assuredly rather French than English. A Bishop of Chartres of this name, *Frotbald*, was killed by the Danes, A.D. 858.

41. HERIBERT Bearded bust to the right.

LINCOLLA in monogram. J. Kenyon, Esq., Pl. IV., fig. 2.

There is a coin in the British Museum similar to this, but with a beardless bust, and the blundered legend EREENER on the obverse (Ruding, pl. xv., fig. 9). The monogram contains clearly the letters LINCOLLA, and this is the spelling of the name of Lincoln in the contemporary English chronicle. These are the earliest coins known from that mint, and perhaps owe their origin to the Danes, who wintered in that neighbourhood the year after they left London.



There is another class of London coins much rarer than the above, which present the moneyer's name on their reverses.

42. ÆLFRED REX Bust to the right.

TILEVINE MONETA The usual monogram. Rev. J. W. Martin. Pl. IV., fig. 3.

43. ÆLFRED REX } Same types. Brit. Mus.,
HEAEVVLF (*Hereuulf*) } Pl. IV., fig. 4.

44. ÆLFRED RE } Same types. J. Kenyon, Esq., Pl. IV.,
HEREVVLF } fig. 5.

45. ÆLFRED RE } Same types. Brit. Mus.
VINVRDAT (Qy. VINARDVS) } Pl. IV., fig. 6.

This type presents the names of the following moneyers :

ÆLFSTAN (?) HEREVVLF TILEVINE VINARDVS (?)

46. REX ÆLFRED Bust to the right.

ÆDELVF (*Æthelulf*) MO. Pl. IV., fig. 7.

Three specimens of this coin were found at Cuerdale, and are in the possession, respectively, of W. Assheton, Esq., Dr. A. Smith, and the British Museum. The present drawing was made from the two former, one coin supplying the defects of the other. Its design and execution are very superior to those of the London coins. The monogram, like that of Lincoln, is formed on the London model. I cannot discern in it the name of any place of importance in Ælfred's time. The most natural way of reading it seems to be ROISENG or ROISENGER, and this may possibly indicate a mint at Castle-Rising, in Norfolk, or at Rishangles, in Sussex, anciently *Risanger*.

Here I must notice a singular coin, which is figured in Hall's plates, presenting on the obverse Ælfred's name

and title, and a bust of design similar to that of the London coins; on the reverse a bird (if my memory serves me), and the moneyer's name BRECE. The combination of an obverse type belonging to an early period of Ælfred's reign, with a reverse peculiar to the coins of Edward the Elder, and a moneyer's name which does not occur on any of those of Ælfred, at one time induced me to regard the original of this engraving as a forgery. The discovery, however, of many of the originals of the figures in Hall's plates, previously supposed fictitious, in the Duke of Devonshire's collection; and, in particular, the reappearance on a coin of Eadmund, in that collection, of a type previously supposed peculiar to the coins of Eadward the Elder and Anlaf, and, as far as we know, disused during the reign of Æthelstan (the type of the flower), has shaken my suspicions of the genuineness of the coin in question.

We now come to consider the coins of Ælfred without portrait, all apparently of later date than those described above; and here again we have a connecting link between the two classes in the following curious and unique pieces.

47. + EL ER ED RE A small cross; no inner circle.

TILEVINE MO NETA Monogram of London. John Huxtable Esq., Pl. IV., fig. 8.

48. EL ER ED RE A small cross.

LIHICOLLA (Lincolla). In two lines, between them three monograms, which I read HE RE BE, part of the name which occurs on the Lincoln coin 41. Brit. Mus., Pl. IV., fig. 9.

49. + EL FR ED RE A small cross.

VVINE MON An ornament. Brit. Mus., Pl. IV., fig. 11.

50. + EL FR ED RE A small cross.
CVÐVVLF In two lines. Brit. Mus., Pl. V., fig. 1.
51. + EL FR ED RE Same type, letters unusually small.
VVINIG MONE In two lines. Brit. Mus., Pl. V., fig. 2.
52. + EL FR ED RE } Same types. Brit. Mus., Pl. V.,
ELDA ME FEC(it) } fig. 3.
53. + EL FR ED RE } Same types. Brit. Mus., Pl. V.,
EDELŠ R. GELDA } fig. 4.
54. + EL FR ED RE A small cross with a pellet in each
angle.
CVD BERHT In two lines. Brit. Mus., Pl. V., fig. 5.
55. + EL FR ED RE } Same types as last. Brit. Mus.,
EADVVALD } Pl. V., fig. 6.
56. + EL FR ED RE } Same types. Brit. Mus., Pl. V.,
TIRVALD. MO } fig. 7.

The most remarkable feature on these coins is the division of the obverse legend into four groups, so as to give to the type a cruciform appearance. This is a feature peculiar to the English money of the time, observable on these coins of Ælfred, and on those of Guthrum-Ethelstan of East Anglia, and of Guthfrith-Cnut and Siefred of Northumbria; but on no Continental coins. This coinage seems to have been continued until nearly the end of Ælfred's reign, but nothing like this arrangement occurs on the money of his successor, Eadward.

The reverse legend of No. 53 is remarkable. The hyphen over the S, and the dot after the R, seem to be marks of abbreviation of the name and title of Ethelstan. *Gelda* may be the name of a mint, Geldestone in Norfolk, or it may be a Latinized form of the English word *geld*, "payment;" as in *Edelstani regis gelda*, "payment" or

“tribute of King Ethelstan.” Can this be a part of the treasure bestowed upon him on the occasion of his baptism?

57. + EL FR FD RE A small cross.

The letters CNVT attached to the extremities of a large cross occupying the field of the coin, and REX between them. Brit. Mus., Pl. IV., fig. 10.

This precious coin I regard as a memorial of the alliance and friendship which existed between Ælfred and Guthfrith-Cnut of Northumbria. It cannot be supposed to be the result of a confusion of dies; for although the type of the reverse is Northumbrian, its execution is not.

Other coins of Ælfred have the obverse legend divided into three groups instead of four.

58. AEL FRE DREX A small cross; the circumscribed circle divided into four equal spaces by pellets placed opposite to the ends of the cross.

BYRNELM + In two lines. Brit. Mus., Pl. V., fig. 8.

A coin of Eadward the Elder, of the same moneyer, presents the same peculiarity of pellets placed upon the circle at regular intervals.

59. + AEL FRE DRE A small cross.

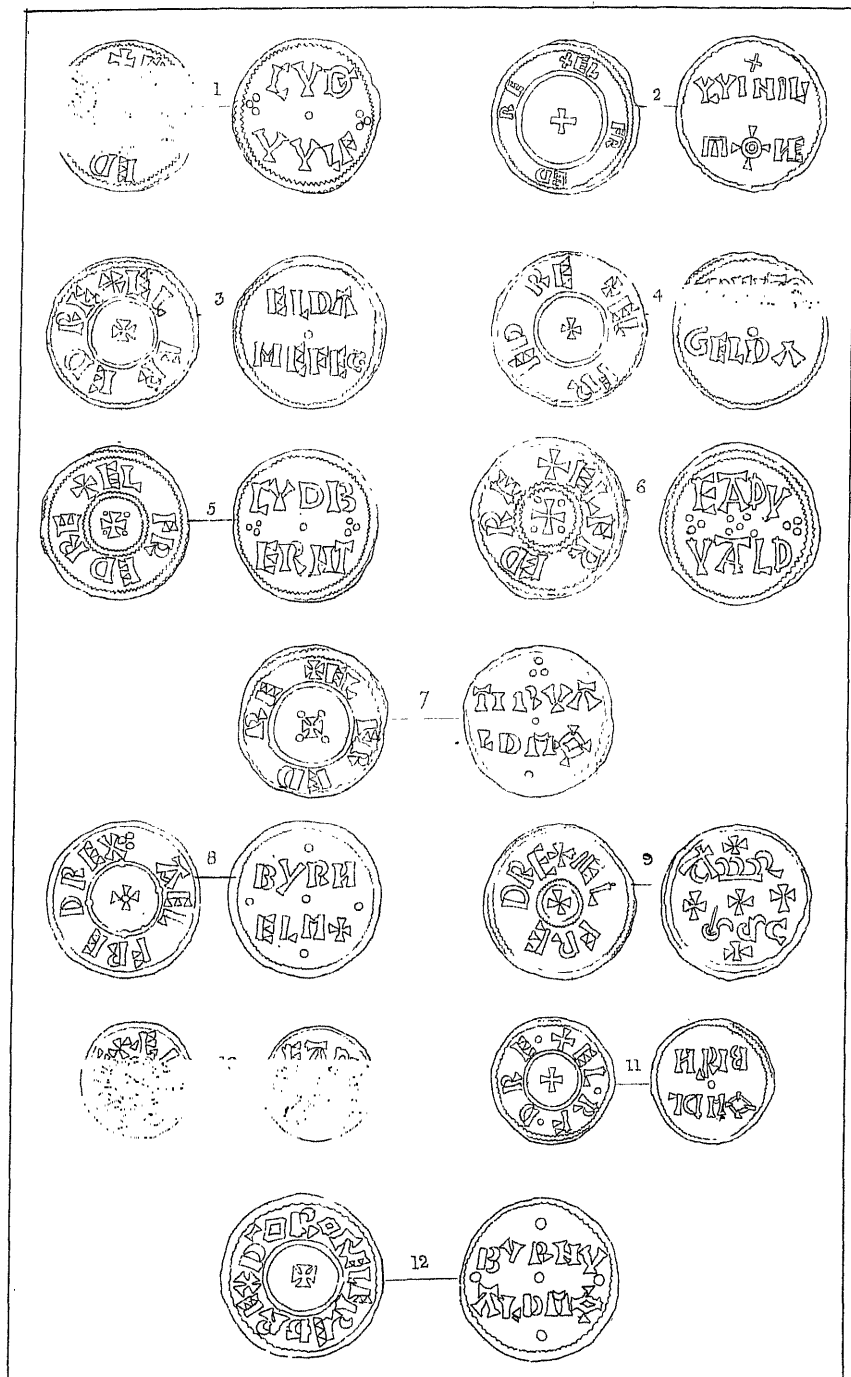
The reverse legend is in characters which have hitherto eluded all attempts to explain them. Brit. Mus., Pl. V., fig. 9.

60. + ÆLFRFDEE A small cross.

EADVVALD In two lines. Brit. Mus., Pl. V., fig. 10.

61. + EL·RF·DRE }
BIRNLD MO } Same types. Brit. Mus., Pl. V., fig. 11.

These last are half-pennies.



Of these types we have the following moneyer's names,³ with the variations or blunders detailed in the note.

ABENEL	DEALLA ^h	HEREVVLF
ÆDELVLF ^a	DEALING	HREAEAM (?)
ÆLFSTAN	DIARVALD ⁱ	HVNBERHT
ÆLFWALD	DVDIG	IENERAM (?)
ÆDELSTAN ^b	DVNNA	IVDELBAND
ÆDERED ^c	DVNNING	LVDIG ^o
ALVYDA	EADVVALD ^k	LVLLA
BEAGSTAN ^d	EGBER	OSVVLF
BERHTERE	ECVVLF ^l	RANHERE
BEORNMÆR ^e	ÆDELVINE ^m	SAMSON
BIORNRED ^f	EIDA	SIGEVVALD
BERNVALD	FERLYS	SIMVN
BOFA	FOLEARD	STFANVS
BORA	FRANBALD	TILEVVINE ^p
BRIDARD	GARIINE (?)	TIRVALD ^q
BVGA	GODA	VIGBALD ^r
BVRNEREA (?)	GVÐHERE	VVINE
BYRNELM	HEAVVLF	VVINIG
CIRESRIEN (?)	HELICOLI	VVINIGERVS
CVÐBERHT ^g	HEREFERD ⁿ	WYNBERHT ^s
CVÐVVLF	IHEREMOD	VVLFRED
CVNEVLF	IHEREMVND	

Here, for the first time, we remark the occurrence, on English coins, of names not English, and of names with Latin endings; attributable, I believe, to the presence in England, during the last decade of the ninth century, of many Franks and other foreigners. Of some of these names I can make nothing; but one legend, *Helicoli*, I think may be an abbreviation of *Herebert* and

³ With the following variations or blunderings:—

^aÆDELVLF; ^bEDEISTAN, EAETAN; ^cÆDERED; ^dBEGSTAN; ^eBEORNMER; ^fBERNRED, BEDRERN, BERBERN; ^gCVÐBERHE; ^hDELA; ⁱDIARLO; ^kEADVALD, EADVEALD; ^lECVLF, ECVVLF, ECWVLF; ^mÆDELYNE; ⁿHEREFERD; ^oLVDG, LVDEI; ^pTILEYYNE, TILEVOIE; ^qTIRVEALD; ^rVIGBAD; ^sVVYNBERHT, VVNBERHT, W.BERET.

Lincolla. Two of these moneyers, *Elda* and *Simun*, write *me fec(it)* after their names, instead of the usual *monetarius* (abbreviated); and this is another peculiarity of Ælfred's coinage. Very similar, however, is the legend *Earic fct* on some coins of the Northumbrian Ragnolt.

The following pieces undoubtedly belong to the last ten years of Ælfred's reign, and must have been issued contemporaneously with some of those last described.

62. + ELFRED REX PLECN. A small cross.

EÐALVVF MO In two lines. Brit. Mus., Pl. VII., fig. 6.

63. AELFRED REX DÖRO } Same types. Brit. Mus.
BVRNVALD MO } Pl. V., fig. 12.

On the first of these we have, in addition to the name and title of Ælfred, the first letters of the name of Plegmund, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 890; on the latter, representing a large class of Ælfred's coins, we have the first letters of the name *Dorobernia*, showing that they were minted at Canterbury, and connecting them with one type of Plegmund's money. On these, and on others which appear to belong to the same class, although blundered, we have the following names of moneyers:—⁴

BIAERED ^a	} (?) Biarnred	DIARVALD	EÐELVINE
BRVNED		DVNNING	HEREFRÆD
BVRNVALD ^b		EADVALD	HVNFRÆD
CERMAN		EÐELSTAN ^c	TIRVALD

64. + AELFRED REX DO A cross.

+ SCEADMVND RE The letter A. Brit. Mus., Pl. VII., fig. 7.

⁴ With these variations:—

^aBIAERÐ; ^bBIRAVAD, BIRIVALD; ^cELESTAN.

65. + FFELFRED RC } Same types. Brit. Mus., Pl. VII.,
 + CECADMVNDRF } fig. 8.
66. + EL FR ED RN (Two of the spaces filled by annulets.)
 + SCLAMVNI Same types. Brit. Mus., Pl. VII., fig. 9.

The first of these is a connecting link between the Canterbury coins, and those which bear the name of S. Eadmund, the martyred King of the East Angles. My opinion, founded on a careful examination of the evidence of the coins themselves, and the circumstances of the two principal findings of them, is this; that the *Sc. Eadmund* money was neither ecclesiastical, nor peculiarly East Anglian; but that it was minted simultaneously in different parts of the country, after the death of Guthrum-Ethelstan, and that it was chiefly the work of French artists, who accompanied the Danes on their return to England, A.D. 892. No. 64 connects this money with Ælfred and with Canterbury; four of Ælfred's moneyers (*Abenel, Osulf, Wigbald, and Winiger*) were employed in the production of it; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was at his suggestion, and by his authority, that it was first issued.

67. ÆLFRED+ Between two lines of the name of the mint,
 OKSNA FORDA.⁵

BERNVALRMO In two lines. J. Kenyon, Esq. Pl. VI.,
 fig. 1.

68. ELRFED OKSNAFORDA } Same types. A halfpenny.
 BERIIVALDIO } W. Assheton, Esq. Pl. VI.,
 fig. 3.

69. This piece, also a halfpenny, has a blundered legend both on the obverse and the reverse; on the former we have ÆLFLFD for Ælfred, and two lines evidently

⁵ The reading of the name *Oksnaforða* is due to our regretted friend, the late Mr. Sainthill, and is certainly right. The R and K were easily confounded one with the other.

intended for *Bernuald Mo*; whilst on the latter we have as clearly an attempt at *Oksnaforða*. It is, therefore, a distinct variety of the preceding coins, having the moneyer's name along with that of the king on the obverse, and that of the mint on the reverse. Brit. Mus., Pl. VI., fig. 4.

70. ELFRED OKSNAFORDA In three lines, as before.

BERNVALD NO . In two lines, having between them a tall cross, raised on steps. Brit. Mus., Pl. VI., fig. 2.

71. On this piece we can just make out the name of Ælfred on the obverse, but the rest of the legend is so much blundered as to defy all attempts at interpretation. Still I think that it will prove to be the same on both sides, and the name of a moneyer. There is certainly no trace of the names of *Bernuald* and *Oksnaforða*.

72. EVERAT In two lines; between them a tall cross raised on one step.

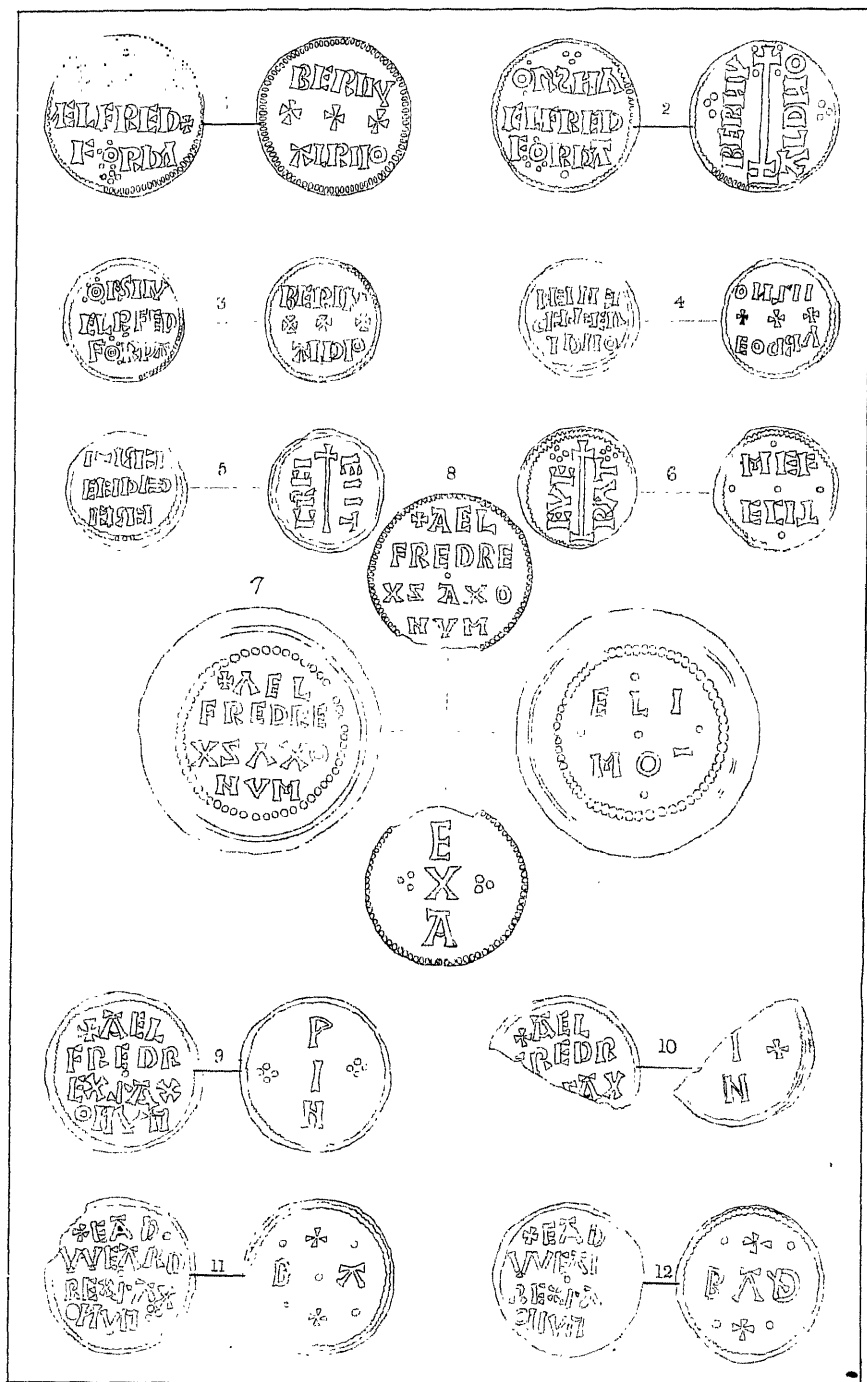
ME FECIT In two lines. J. Kenyon, Esq., Pl. VI., fig. 6.

This beautiful halfpenny, the Oxford penny 70, and the halfpenny 71, are connected by their type with some of those of Siefred, discovered along with them at Cuerdale.

73. + AELFRED REX SAXONVM In four lines.

ELI MO- In two lines. J. Garland, Esq., Pl. VI., fig. 7.

This piece weighs $164\frac{1}{2}$ grains, *i.e.* nearly seven pence (168 grains). Is it a trial piece? I can hardly think so. From the household accounts of Edward III. we know that there was a *denarius oblatorius*, which the king was wont to offer at mass on certain festivals, and which was afterwards redeemed for seven-pence. Of this piece examples are still in existence, of the type, Ruding, Pl. ii., 23; Hawkins, 290. The piece engraved in Folke's tables weighs 88 grains, and Mr. Hawkins mentions one of 80. These may well have been groats, which should





weigh 90 or 89 grains. But there is one of 138 grains, and, as Mr. Hawkins observes, this cannot have been a groat. I have no doubt it represents the offering-penny, which should weigh $157\frac{1}{2}$ or $155\frac{3}{4}$ grains, if of the full weight of seven pence. It is possible (nay, even probable, with the piece before us), that this was a custom continued in the royal household from Saxon times, and that this piece was Ælfred's offering-penny.

74. The half of a penny in Brit. Mus. of the same type.

75. +ÆLFRED REX SAXONVM In four lines.

EXA J. Kenyon, Esq., Pl. VI., fig. 8.

76 and 77. Same legend.

WIN Brit. Mus., Pl. VI., figs. 9 and 10.

The title on these coins, *Rex Saxonum*, occurring in connection with the names of the mints of Exeter and Winchester, seems to confirm my view that the coins in Pl. II., which also present this title, are of West Saxon origin. In illustration of these, and as indicating the date of their mintage, I give two similar coins of Eadward, minted at Bath (Pl. VI., figs. 11 and 12), the former in the British Museum, the latter in Mr. Cuff's collection.⁶

D. H. HAIGH.

⁶ For the loan of the Plates illustrative of this paper, the Numismatic Society is indebted to the Rev. D. H. Haigh.

V.

ON SOME UNPUBLISHED SILVER COINS OF EDWARD IV., AND A FEW REMARKS ON THE COINAGE OF EDWARD V.

IN adding to the number of coins already given to Edward IV. I do not claim to have taken his coinage thoroughly in hand, my contribution is merely a description of coins in my own cabinet, without seeking information elsewhere; and although the list to follow may prove useful as a reference, my object in giving it is partly in connection with, and as slightly assisting towards a complete elucidation of the entire silver coinage of Henry IV., V., and VI., to which end I am pursuing my investigations, with the intention on some future occasion of submitting the result to the Numismatic Society.

Edward IV. introduced many new marks on his coins, and with very few exceptions retained those used by his predecessors.

FIRST, OR HEAVY COINAGE OF EDWARD IV.

The first, or heavy coinage of Edward IV. was issued before his fourth year, and weighed at the rate of 15 grains to the penny. These coins appear to have been struck at London only, and, with the exception of the groat, are of a high degree of rarity. This coin, however,

may be considered as scarcer than the groat of Richard II., though less difficult to procure in fine preservation.

HEAVY GROATS.

In Hawkins we find six varieties of the heavy groat, two have m.m. cross, three have m.m. rose, and one has m.m. obv. cross crosslet, rev. lis.; all, according to the same authority, reading—

EDWARD . DI . GRÆ . REX . ANGL . Z . FRANC.

But, singular to say, those in my cabinet, with the exception of No. 2, read—

ANGL . Z . FRANC.

Rev.—POSVI . DEVM . ADIVTORE . MÆVM.

CIVITAS LONDON.

The three following coins appear unpublished :—

1. m.m. cross crosslet; rev., lis, lis on neck, a pellet at each side of crown and between the pellets in two quarters of the reverse. Weight $58\frac{1}{4}$ grs.
2. m.m. cross,¹ reads ANGLI . FRANC. (Z omitted), mascle or open lozenge after FRANC, lis on neck, pellet at each side of crown and in two quarters of rev., cross after MÆVM. Weight $58\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (Pl. VIII. No. 2.)
3. m.m. cross crosslet; rev., rose, lis on neck, pellet at each side of crown. Weight 61 grs. (Pl. VIII. No. 1.)

I have also some trifling varieties of the heavy groat with rose m.m. 1, a cross before LONDON; 2, two crosses before LONDON; 3, two crosses after LONDON; 4, one cross after FRANC. With one exception (No. 347) I have specimens of the heavy groats enumerated by

¹ Unless otherwise stated, the m.m. appears on obv. and rev.

Hawkins. All those with m.m. rose, which are without a crescent on the king's breast, have a mascle after CIVITAS.

HEAVY HALF-GROATS AND PENNIES.

I can only trace two varieties of the heavy half-groat; one has m.m. cross, the other m.m. rose. The former was sold at Cuff's sale to Martin, at whose sale it was purchased by Hawkins—probably for the British Museum; the latter specimen is stated to belong to the Rev. J. E. Shephard. Withy and Ryall also engrave a heavy half-groat. It has rose m.m., a cross at each side of neck, and an annulet under the bust. Weight, 30 grains. The penny of this coinage, if issued, has escaped detection.

HEAVY HALFPENNIES.

EDWARD . DI . GRÆ . REX . or REX . Π . or REX . ΠΠ .
or EDWARD . REX . ΠΠG . *Rev.* CIVITAS . LONDON.

Hawkins describes two specimens only; I can supply the same number.

1. m.m. cross, without lis on the king's breast, pellet at each side of crown and in two quarters of rev., reads EDWARD . REX . ΠΠG. Weight $7\frac{1}{8}$ grs.
2. m.m. large rose, four pellets disunited surrounding a smaller one at each side of the king's neck, two crosses after REX. Weight $7\frac{1}{4}$ grs., reads DI . GRÆ . REX.

And Mr. Webster (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xvi. p. 175) mentions a fifth variety, m.m. rose, DI . GRÆ . REX . ΠΠ., an annulet enclosing a pellet under the bust. Weight, 8 grains.

FARTHING.

EDWARD . REX . ANGL—LONDON.

A farthing was exhibited by me at a meeting of this Society in 1867, and described in the Chronicle of that year.

Some difficulty will be experienced at first in distinguishing the heavy money of Edward IV. from that coined later in his reign, and the scales have usually to be resorted to; but, with practice, a quick eye soon accustoms itself to separate one coinage from the other. On some heavy coins a lis is on the king's neck, in conjunction with a pellet at each side of his crown; on others, though rarely, a crescent appears on the breast. Sometimes a mascle is placed after CIVITAS; but this mark is not solely confined to the heavy coinage, as will presently be seen.

Some coins of Henry VI. exactly correspond with the early pieces of Edward IV., for which reason they may be considered, without scruple, as the last heavy money issued by that monarch.

SECOND, OR LIGHT COINAGE OF EDWARD IV.

Coins issued by this king after his fourth year weigh at the rate of only 12 grains to a penny, and were struck at London, Bristol, Canterbury, Coventry, Durham, Norwich, and York.

GROATS.

The number of groats issued by Edward IV. after his fourth year, appear in the aggregate to be equal to, if they do not actually exceed, all those struck in England

by his predecessors. The endless variety of these common coins, the mean position they hold in the estimation of the collector, the comparatively small benefit to numismatic science likely to accrue from their thorough investigation, are manifestly the reasons why Numismatists have been deterred from selecting a subject where the result to be attained is seen to be singularly inadequate when compared with the time and patience required. As a natural consequence, our knowledge of the coinage of Edward IV. is very superficial.

In my arrangement of the coins of this king, I shall, with few exceptions, make no attempt at tracing them in the order in which they might have been issued from the mint; any such attempt would, I fear, prove useless and unreliable without some aid from documentary evidence, or, at any rate, without the assistance of a much larger collection of coins than I now possess. I shall, therefore, as a rule, simply follow the coins as arranged in my cabinet, and here and there record anything that strikes me as meriting attention.

Sixteen varieties of the light groat of Edward are mentioned by Hawkins—viz., m.m. cross pierced and pellet (one variety), cross with pellet in each angle (one), cross fitchee, rev. sun (one), heraldic cinquefoil (two), rose (two), sun (one), crown (three), annulet (two), annulet enclosing a pellet, with a rose at each side of the king's neck (one), annulet enclosing a pellet, star at left, rose at right side of neck (one), boar's head (one).

I have mentioned that the heavy money last struck by Henry VI. is easily recognised by its strong resemblance to that first issued by Edward IV.

In like manner can the early light groats coined by Edward be pointed out by an equally close resemblance

which they bear to those of the same weight belonging to Henry—a resemblance so striking that the most sceptical, with the coins before him, must be convinced. Not only are both coinages found to be identical in type and portrait, but this peculiarity is always noticeable throughout the legend on both sides of the coins—the letter R is shaped like the letter B.

For these reasons I have little hesitation in ascribing the first of the following types to an early issue—probably the first—of Edward IV.'s second coinage.

LONDON GROATS.—SECOND COINAGE.

TYPE 1.

Without a mark at either side of the king's neck, and otherwise resembling the light groats of Henry VI., all reading,

EDW^{AR}BD . DI . or D^EI (very rarely) GB^{AT} . B^EX . ^{AN}GL .
Z . FB^{AT}ND .

POSVI . D^EV^M . ^{AN}DI^{TO}B^E . M^EV^M .
CIVIT^{AS} . LONDON .

1. m.m. cross pierced, a trefoil after R^EX and at each side of Z.
2. m.m. the same, rose after POSVI, and sun after D^EV^M.
3. m.m. the same, cross after FR^{AN}D, reads D^EI, a quatrefoil after POSVI and D^EV^M.
4. m.m. cross pierced and pellet; rev., cross pierced, two quatrefoils after R^EX, reads D^EI.
5. m.m. small annulet; rev., trefoil, trefoil after R^EX. (Pl. VIII. No. 3.)
6. m.m. cross fitchee; rev., sun, a trefoil between the words on obv. and after D^EV^M on rev.
7. m.m. annulet; rev., cross, an annulet after DI and R^EX.

8. m.m. annulet enclosing a pellet, reads $\pi\text{NGL} . \text{Z} .$
 $\text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha . \text{Z} .$

TYPE 2.

An annulet at each side of neck ; legend as type 1.

9. m.m. rose, mascle after $\text{CIVIT}\pi\text{S}$. One variety of this type is similar to the light groat of Henry VI., another is of large size, and a die intended for the heavy coinage appears to have been used. The late Mr. Christmas (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i.) mentions a heavy groat apparently of this type.

In my opinion, these coins with a mascle, looking at their workmanship, were issued early in the reign of Edward IV. They seem the only pieces of his second coinage on which that mark appears. I have pointed out that heavy groats with rose m.m. have also a mascle after $\text{CIVIT}\pi\text{S}$.

TYPE 3.

Quatrefoil at each side of neck ; legend as before with one exception, No. 11. The letter R formed as usual.

10. m.m. crown ; rev., sun, no quatrefoil on breast.
 11. m.m. the same, trefoil after $\text{D}\alpha\text{V}\pi$, reads $\text{FR}\pi\text{N}$.
 12. m.m. sun ; one variety has a pellet in one quarter of rev., another has a cross shaped like a lis after $\text{CIVIT}\pi\text{S}$.
 13. m.m. crown, similar in type to the York groat reading $\text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha\text{V}\text{S}$ (Rud., pl. E., 9), trefoils between the words on obv., and two after $\pi\alpha\text{V}\pi$. This coin reads as usual POSVI . and $\text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$.
 14. m.m. rose, α on breast.

TYPE 4.

Pellet at each side of neck (rare) ; legend as before.

15. m.m. cross pierced ; rev., cross pierced and pellet, two crosses after $\text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$, rose after POSVI and $\pi\text{DIVTOR}\alpha$.

TYPE 5.

Rose at each side of neck (rare); legend as before.

16. m.m. annulet enclosing a pellet, reads D&L.

TYPE 6.

Without a mark at either side of the king's neck, portrait approaching that of Richard III., legend as before.

17. m.m. cross pierced and pellet, rose after POSVI and sun after π DIVTORE.

18. m.m. cross pierced, rose after D&VΩ.

The following London groats were perhaps the last issued by Edward IV. They have Richard III.'s portrait. All of them have m.m. heraldic cinquefoil, and all of them have a rose on the king's breast:—

19. Rose after POSVI and π DIVTOR&. (Pl. VIII. No. 7.)

20. The same, but having two crosses after FR&N& and a cross after Ω&VΩ; rev. m.m. heraldic cinquefoil and pellet.

21. Rose after D&VΩ. With and without crosses after FR&N&.

The preceding list of London groats more than doubles the number given in Hawkins.

BRISTOL GROATS.

Outer legends as before.

Inner circle VILLπ BRISTOLL . BR&STOLL or BRISTOW.

1. m.m. sun, B on breast, quatrefoil at each side of neck, π NG, cross after FR&N&; reads BR&STOLL.
2. m.m. rose, B on breast, no quatrefoils; similar to type 1 of the London money.

I have likewise a groat reading BRISTOW, which has two crosses after VILLπ, shaped like those alluded to on the London Groat, type 3, No. 10.

YORK GROATS.

Outer legends as before.

CIVITAS . EBORACI.

1. m.m. cross ; rev., crown, E on breast omitted, quatrefoil at each side of neck.

HALF-GROATS.

Half-groats of Edward IV., issued after his fourth year, are very much rarer than the groats of the same coinage ; indeed, they are by no means common coins, and are very seldom to be met with in fine preservation. They read—

EDWARD . DI or DEI . (rarely) GRÆ . REX . ANGL . Z .
F . FR . FRÆ . FRÆ or FRÆ.

Reverse legend the same as on the groats.

LONDON, rather rare.

1. m.m. rose obv. only, cross at each side of neck, ANGL . Z . F . Weight 23 grs. (Pl. VIII. No. 4.)

BRISTOL, rare.

1. m.m. sun, quatrefoil at each side of neck, ANGL . Z .
FRÆ . BRISTOLL . Weight 23 grs. (Pl. VIII. No. 5.)

The heavy London half-groat is twice mentioned in Hawkins, p. 114 ; once included with the Bristol money.

CANTERBURY.

FR or FRÆ. — MÆV or MÆV.

CANTOR

1. m.m. archiepiscopal pall obv. only, without C or Abp. Bourchier's knot on breast, quatrefoil at each side of neck.
2. m.m. rose, C on breast, rose in centre of rev. on the cross.
3. m.m. crown obv. only, trefoil at each side of neck.

Canterbury half-groats are not so scarce as the others.

YORK, rare.

FR π or FR π N — ϵ BOR π CL.

1. m.m. lis obv. only, ϵ on breast, reads FR π N, lis after POSVI, trefoil after D ϵ V Ω . Weight 28½ grs.

I have also a specimen of the only variety mentioned in Hawkins, No. 350, without ϵ on breast. Weight, 21¾ grains.

PENNIES.²

ϵ DWARD . DI or D ϵ I . GR π . R ϵ X . π N . π NG . π NGL or π NGLI, and Hawkins mentions π NGLI ϵ . Also ϵ DWARD . R ϵ X . π NG or π NGLI and π NGL . Z . FR π .

Among the most difficult coins in the English series to procure in good preservation may be counted the pence of Edward IV. They are rarely legible.

DURHAM.

1. m.m. crown, D at left, quatrefoil at right of neck, D ϵ R π Ω , trefoil after D ϵ .
2. m.m. obliterated, B at left, D at right of neck, B in centre of rev., D ϵ \times R π Ω .
3. m.m. rose or cinquefoil, DI . GR π . R ϵ X . π NG, two crosses above the king's crown, DVNEL Ω I ϵ , D in centre of rev., V in one quarter, dot between pellets in each quarter. (Pl. VIII. No. 6.)
4. m.m. rose or cinquefoil, R ϵ X π N, two trefoils after π N, a quatrefoil at each side of neck, and B at left of crown. DVNOL Ω I ϵ , D in centre of rev., V in one quarter, dot between pellets in each quarter.

YORK.

- 1 m.m. star? curious portrait, ϵ BOR π CL.

² Pennies and smaller pieces have m.m. on obverse only.

HALFPENNIES.

Read usually $\epsilon\Delta\omega\tau\alpha\text{RD}$. ΔI or $\Delta\epsilon\text{I}$. $\text{GR}\tau$. $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$. and according to Hawkins, $\epsilon\Delta\omega\tau\alpha\text{RD}$. $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$. $\tau\alpha\text{NGL}$ or $\tau\alpha\text{NGLI}$.

1. m.m. crown, ΔI . $\text{GR}\tau$. $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$, cross at each side of neck. Weight $6\frac{1}{4}$ grs.

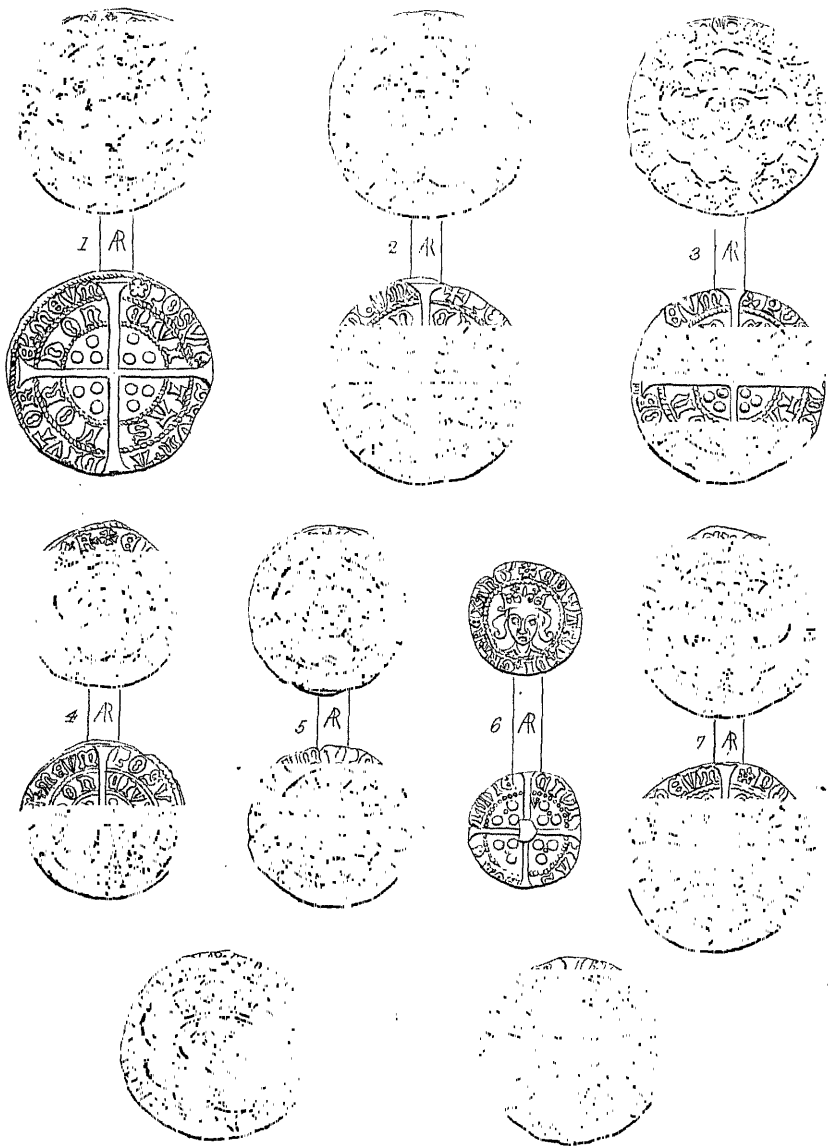
FARTHINGS.

Hawkins, No. 355, may or may not be a light farthing of Edward IV. Its weight, $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains, inclines me to think it is, though complete faith in the weight of halfpence and farthings cannot, I admit, in every instance be placed, not even on the coins of this king, much less on those struck before his time.

The farthing I speak of was Cuff's ; it was considered by him and by Hawkins to belong to Edward IV. Like my specimen, it has the Roman N in London. It may seem strange that farthings of Edward IV. should present the Roman character. But the fact is, the Roman N is really only noteworthy when applied as a test in determining which are, and which are not, the groats and half-groats of Henry IV. There consists its true value as an arranger, unless indeed we apply it to the coinage of Edward I., and take from that king some coins now given him with the old English N.

All coins of Edward IV., I have observed, read $\epsilon\Delta\omega\tau\alpha\text{RD}$.³ His groats, as I mentioned two years since, never read $\tau\alpha\text{NGLI}\epsilon$. Sometimes, but not frequently, a mark appears after POSVI ., and seems to have been placed there without any particular meaning.

³ I certainly have a groat reading $\epsilon\Delta\upsilon\tau\alpha\text{RD}$., but that coin can only be looked upon in the same light as those exceptional pieces struck at London with ϵ or C on the king's breast.



38. 1880. D. 100

EDWARD V.

I have purposely abstained, in my remarks on the coinage of Edward IV., from making any allusion to those important and interesting groats which have for m.m. a boar's head, or a rose and sun united, because I have nothing to urge against a somewhat prevalent opinion that they were issued in Edward V.'s short reign by order of his uncle, Richard III. Ruding had never seen these coins; nevertheless he assumes, solely on the strength of the documentary evidence he adduces, that Edward V. did coin money, and probably used his father's dies.

The documentary evidence is this. A certain writer, Ross of Warwick, lived in the reign of Edward V., and therefore, says Ruding, "could scarcely be mistaken in such facts as those which he has recorded;" and if Ross's statement may be relied on, the young king actually did issue coins during the few weeks he was permitted to show some signs of authority. In support of Ross's statement it may be observed that a summons for calling a parliament on the 25th of June, 1483, bears date the 13th of May.⁴ On the 20th of the same month (May) Sir William Hastings, knight, was appointed master and worker of the mint, Edward IV.'s death having occurred on the 9th of April. And again, in support of Ross's statement, Speed gives us a representation of the great seal said to have been used by Edward V. Sandford declares that the seal represented by Speed belongs in reality to Edward IV.; but there he is in error. Edward IV.'s seal differs essentially from those of Edward V. and Richard III., which are alike. Speed,

⁴ Ruding, vol. i., 291.

it so happens, is not the only historian to whom we are indebted for a representation of the great seal of Edward V. The accuracy of his drawing can, therefore, be tested by comparison with those given by other writers. In a previous paper I have mentioned that Ruding refers to Speed as "the accurate Speed."

Mention⁵ is made of the drawings of a groat and penny of Edward V. by a French writer, whose MS. is preserved in the British Museum. The groat is described as weighing 3 pennyweights, and the penny 1 pennyweight, which, if correctly given, destroys the value of the evidence in question. If we could ascertain the mint-marks presented on the drawings, any doubt now remaining would be removed.

Such is the documentary evidence. It steadily points to a coinage issued by Edward V.; and coins in this instance are forthcoming to support documentary evidence with singular force. Groats with m.m. boar's head and rose and sun united *immediately followed* those with cinquefoil m.m., which appear last on my list of Edward IV.'s money; and there is no room for doubt that if Edward V. did issue coins, those groats with his uncle's mint-marks must be looked upon as his.

Hawkins (p. 113) includes the boar's head groat with Edward IV.'s money, but modifies his attribution towards the close of his work (p. 278), and considers it not improbable that this coin might have been struck by authority of Edward V. when Richard III. was Protector. The groat with the rose and sun united was apparently unknown when Hawkins's "Silver Coins of England" appeared in 1841.

⁵ Ruding, vol. i., 291.

The coinage of Richard III., as is well known, is not prolific in marks; with extremely few exceptions that king contented himself with the boar's head and the rose and sun united. Edward IV., on the other hand, adopted, as I have shown, an immense number of various marks, and it is all but proved that those most esteemed by his brother Richard were never in favour with him.

It may certainly be argued that, as Edward III. was entitled to the boar,⁶ he and any of his descendants might have used it. We know, however, that this mark is noticed for the first time on a groat of Edward, weighing 48 grains. Now the late Sir Henry Ellis, "who for many years noted every passage he could meet with, either in manuscript or print, in which the badges borne by Edward IV. are mentioned, has not been able to discover a single instance of his using the boar."⁷

The only inference to be drawn from the conclusive evidence before us is, that the boar's head was adopted as a mint mark for the first time on coins issued in the reign of Edward V., and I believe it to be generally admitted that the rose and sun united was used simultaneously, it being also one of Richard III.'s badges. Both marks were peculiar to, and are identified with, the name of Richard III., and were therefore naturally selected by him when he authorised a coinage in his nephew's name.

To a certain class of thinkers it may seem strange that Richard III., whilst plotting the destruction of his nephews, should have authorised an issue of coins in the name of Edward V. Such a line of conduct, however, can hardly be looked upon as either extraordinary or exceptional when we consider the acknowledged character of

⁶ *Archæologia*, v. 17.

⁷ Hawkins, 278.

the man. Speed describes Richard as "close and secret, a deepe dissembler." And without doubt the ostentatious display of affection which he exhibited for his nephews did serve him well for a time as a disguise wherewith to conceal his treacherous designs against them. His open protestations of attachment and loyalty towards the young king were, in like manner, craftily calculated to remove suspicion, which, from the first, appears to have existed in the public mind. But when the moment arrived for aspiring openly to the crown, Richard's cloak of dissimulation was hastily cast aside, and he stood revealed in his true character. His transformation was sudden—too sudden indeed, for the ultimate success of his schemes. Richard III. is not without partisans, but those who may hereafter point to the coins of Edward V. in support of their theory, that the princes were not murdered by their amiable uncle, can scarcely be considered proficient in the difficult study of human nature.

London groats are the only silver coins⁸ that at present can be allowed to Edward V. The silver coinage of Richard III. consisted likewise almost entirely of groats; collectors find much difficulty in procuring his smaller pieces. Richard also, with very few exceptions, issued his coins from the London mint. It is remarkable how closely the coinage of Edward V. assimilates with that of his uncle, and how many trifling facts and arguments can be brought forward to prove that the following groats were of his time:—

1. m.m. rose and sun united on obv. and rev.
2. m.m. similar, but having a pellet in the spandril under

⁸ Mr. Sainthill (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xiv.) mentions a gold angel of Edward with the rose and sun united m.m.

the bust (Pl. VIII. No. 8.). A groat of Richard has also this slight peculiarity.⁹

3. m.m. boar's head on obv. and rev.
4. m.m. similar, but with a pellet under the bust like No. 2.
5. m.m. obv., boar's head; rev., rose and sun united (engraved Num. Chron., vol. xiv., p. 26). According to a sale catalogue of May 27th, 1850, a specimen of this type has a pellet likewise under the bust.
6. m.m. obv., boar's head; rev., lis (exhibited last year by Mr. Sharp at the Numismatic Society).

The coins are arranged much in the order of their rarity. No. 1, although very rare, is the commonest coin of the series.

J. F. NECK.

⁹ In a sale catalogue of the 27th of May, 1850, it was remarked of a coin of this type belonging to Richard III., "The RIC deeper and larger, evidently from an altered die, probably one of Edward."

VI.

ON SOME MEDALS STRUCK BY ORDER OF THE CORPORATION OF LONDON.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 16, 1869.]

“THE English have not been so careful as other polite nations to preserve the memory of their great actions and events on medals.” So wrote Dean Swift one hundred and sixty years ago; and what was true of us then is doubly true now. To the Corporation of London is due the credit of giving a brilliant example in opposition to this national carelessness.

Previously to 1831 a long period had elapsed in which no great public work had been undertaken by the citizens. In that year the new London Bridge was opened, and, being considerably above the level of the old bridge, new approaches and new streets were necessary. These great works being completed, the King and Queen, in state, opened the bridge, and, at the suggestion of R. Lambert Jones, Chairman of the Committee, a medal was struck by B. Wyon to commemorate the event. That the idea was carried out was doubtless due to a great extent to the honour and respect with which the chairman was on all sides regarded—a feeling which gave birth to another medal, bearing the bust of the Chairman himself, spon-

taneously presented to him by his fellow-citizens. The custom thus originated in the City has been perpetuated on every great occasion up to the present time, the result being seen in the collection now described.

The smaller medal (No. 2), struck upon the opening of London Bridge, is interesting from the fact that it was used as public largesse by the Queen—probably the last instance of an old custom—Her Majesty scattering the medals broadcast among the people as her carriage passed along.

The next medal was to commemorate the passing of the Reform Bill—a measure in which the Corporation had shown intense interest and in no small degree assisted.

In 1834 was re-founded the City of London School, since become famous for the high position its pupils have taken in both Universities. Six out of the eight medals struck for this school possess great artistic merit, especially the beautiful Shakespearian Prize (No. 13).

In 1837 the Queen visited in state the citizens, being the first occasion after her accession to the throne, when a beautiful medal was struck.

In 1844 the Royal Exchange was opened, in commemoration of which two medals were struck.

In 1849 that elegant building, the Coal Exchange, was opened by Prince Albert, who was accompanied by the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal. Upon this occasion, as was most suitable, one of the most handsome medals ever produced in this country was issued.

In 1855 the visit of the Emperor and Empress of the French afforded the citizens an opportunity of displaying their goodwill to our neighbours across the Channel. Later in the same year the King of Sardinia

visited the City. Upon each of these occasions the Corporation, in honour of the event, distributed a large and handsome medal.

No one who was present can forget the heartfelt welcome with which the citizens received the Princess Alexandra on March 7th 1863; nor can any one who has seen it forget the medal engraved by J. G. Wyon on the occasion.

In 1868 there was the Sultan's visit, marking a great change in Eastern politics; while in 1869, upon the occasion of the opening of Blackfriars Bridge and the Holborn Viaduct, the Queen again honoured the City with her presence.

These memorable occasions, referring to events of national as well as civic importance, have all (with the exception of the last two, medals for which are in execution) been commemorated by medals. This praiseworthy custom is now likely to grow into a law, and will enlist, I am sure, the best wishes of this Society.

It would be presumptuous in me to adduce any arguments to prove the value and interest of such historical documents, after the full testimony to this end of many learned writers; but of this we may be sure, that when, in the year 2870, our oft-quoted friend, the accomplished New Zealander, shall sit in his well-furnished study, pondering over the Victorian era in England, he will find no files of the *Times* to refer to, and not a single volume out of our many millions to assist him; and the chief contemporary evidence he will have of the truth of our nineteenth-century history will lie in our meagre coinage and in medals such as those issued by the Corporation of London, and which I have now the pleasure of offering to the notice of this Society.

LIST OF MEDALS.

No. 1. NEW LONDON BRIDGE. 1831.

Obv.—Bust of the king to the right. Legend: WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

Rev.—The Thames, spanned by a bridge of five arches, over which is LONDON BRIDGE; and beneath, COMMENCED 15 JUNE, 1825. OPENED 1 AUGUST, 1831.

Engraved by B. Wyon. Size, 52 millimetres.

No. 2. THE SAME.

Obv.—City Arms, Crest, and Motto.

Rev.—Bridge-House Estate Arms. Legend: LONDON BRIDGE COMMENCED 15 JUNE, 1825. OPENED 1 AUGUST, 1831.

Engraved by B. Wyon. Size, 27 millimetres.

No. 3. THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL. 1832.

Obv.—Britannia handing a scroll bearing the word REFORM to the Genius of Liberty. Upon the ground is another scroll bearing the words MAGNA CHARTA. In the background is a slab bearing the names of GREY, BROUGHAM, ALTHORP, RUSSELL, surmounted by a medallion bearing the king's bust. In the exergue is "2ND AND 3RD WILLIAM IV.

Rev.—A wreath, the Regal Crown at top, and the City Arms at foot, enclosing the inscription REFORM IN THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, 1832.

Engraved by B. Wyon. Size, 52 millimetres.

No. 4. FOUNDATION MEDAL OF THE CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL. 1834.

Obv.—Front view of the School. CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL. In the exergue: FOUNDED BY THE CORPORATION, 1834.

Rev.—A robed figure, representing Knowledge, seated, and leaning upon a book; a youth whose hand rests upon a tablet bearing the name of JOHN CARPENTER, 1447. The City Arms over all. Legend: FOR THE RELIGIOUS AND VIRTUOUS EDUCATION OF BOYS AND THEIR INSTRUCTION IN LITERATURE AND USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

Engraved by B. Wyon. Size, 58 millimetres.

No. 5. VISIT OF THE QUEEN TO GUILDHALL, UPON HER ACCESSION TO THE THRONE. 1837.

Obv.—Bust of the Queen, crowned. Legend: VICTORIA REGINA.

Rev.—Front view of Guildhall. In the exergue: IN HONOUR OF HER MAJESTY'S VISIT TO THE CORPORATION OF LONDON, 9TH NOV., 1837.

Engraved by W. Wyon. Size, 55 millimetres.

No. 6. MATHEMATICAL PRIZE FOR THE CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL. 1843.

Obv.—Three shields, point to point. 1. Arms of the Beaufoy family. 2. City Arms. 3. Monogram, J. C. (John Carpenter).

Rev.—Wreath of laurel enclosing inscription, PREMIUM FOR MATHEMATICAL PROFICIENCY. Legend: CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL, FOUNDED MDCCCXXXIV.

Engraved by W. J. Taylor. Size, 51 millimetres.

No. 7. OPENING OF THE ROYAL EXCHANGE. 1844.

Obv.—Bust of Sir Thomas Gresham. Legend: EMPO-RIVM REGIVM A THOMA GRESHAM, EQ. AVR. CIVE LONDINENSI CONDITVM A.S. MDLXXI.

Rev.—The statue of the Queen within the quadrangle of the building. Upon the pedestal: A.S. MDCCCXLIV. XXVIII. OCT.

Engraved by W. Wyon. Size, 74 millimetres.

No. 8. THE SAME.

Obv.—Bust of the Queen. Legend: ROYAL EXCHANGE
OPENED BY H.M. QUEEN VICTORIA,
OCT. 28, 1844.

Rev.—Three coats of arms, viz.: City of London, Sir
Thos. Gresham, and the Mercers' Company.
Legend: FIRST STONE LAID BY H.R.H.
PRINCE ALBERT, JAN. 17, 1842.

Engraved by W. Wyon. Size, 28-millimetres.

No. 9. WRITING PRIZE OF THE CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL.
1845.

Obv.—Full length figure of John Carpenter, book in hand,
who established the first city school in 1445.

Rev.—Wreath with outside legend: PRIZE FOR
WRITING. FOUNDED BY THOMAS LOTT,
F.S.A., 1845.

Size, 39 millimetres.

No. 10. ARITHMETIC PRIZE. 1845.

Obv.—Same as No. 4.

Rev.—Arms and crest of the Hale family, with motto,
SOLO DEO SALUS and the year 1845. Legend,
in Gothic characters: ARITHMETICAL PRIZE.
FROM WARREN STORMES HALE, CHAIR-
MAN, ORIGINATOR OF THE SCHOOL.

Engraved by B. Wyon. Size, 58 millimetres.

No. 11. THE OPENING OF THE NEW COAL EXCHANGE, 1849.

Obv.—A central circular compartment, surrounded by,
and annexed by the rim to, three others, equi-
distant, all containing busts, viz.: In the centre,
the Queen; above, Prince Albert; to the left,
the Prince of Wales; to the right, the Princess
Royal. In the spaces between the compartments
are two cartoons and an inscription. 1. Prince
Albert landing from the state barge at Billings-
gate, leading by the hand the Prince of Wales
and the Princess Royal. 2. The Presentation
by the Lord Mayor of the Address. 3. ON

BEHALF OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA. Around is the legend: NEW COAL EXCHANGE, OPENED OCT. 30TH, 1849, BY H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT.

Rev.—A boldly designed view of the interior of the Exchange. In the exergue the City Arms. Inscription around the whole: THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES DUKE, LORD MAYOR—JOHN WOOD, ESQ., CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE—JAMES R. BUNNING, ESQ., ARCHITECT.

Engraved by B. Wyon. Size, 90 millimetres.

No. 12. R. L. JONES, ESQ., AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF THE CORPORATION, AND THE ORIGINATOR OF THE PRESENT SERIES OF MEDALS. 1849.

Obv.—Bust to the right. Legend: R. LAMBERT JONES, A.D. MDCCCXLIX.

Rev.—Inscription within a wreath: PRESENTED BY HIS GRATEFUL FELLOW-CITIZENS TO COMMEMORATE EXERTIONS BY WHICH THE CITY OF LONDON WAS IMPROVED, ART ENCOURAGED, HEALTH AND CONVENIENCE PROMOTED.

Engraved by W. Wyon. Size 65 millimetres.

No. 13. SHAKESPEARIAN PRIZE OF THE CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL. 1851.

Obv.—Bust to the left, with legend: WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, BORN APRIL 23, 1564. DIED APRIL 25, 1616.

Rev.—A group of figures from the most celebrated of Shakespeare's plays. In the exergue: CITY OF LONDON SHAKESPEARIAN PRIZE. FOUNDED 1851, BY HENRY B. H. BEAUFOY, F.R.S. BORN APRIL 23, 1785.

Engraved by B. Wyon, and one of his finest works. Size, 78 millimetres.

No. 14. VISIT OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF THE FRENCH TO
GUILDHALL. 1855.

Obv.—Three-quarter-faced busts of the Emperor and Empress, the latter behind the former. Legend: NAPOLEON III ET EUGENIA GALLORUM IMPERATOR ET IMPERATRIX.

Rev.—Britannia, behind whom is a lion, introduces France, beside whom is the imperial eagle, to the City of London, a matron with mural crown, leaning on a shield bearing the City Arms. Legend: CONCORDES SERVAT AMICITIA. In the exergue: LONDINI RECEPTI, 19 APR., 1855.

Engraved by B. Wyon. Size, 77 millimetres.

No. 15. THE VISIT OF THE KING OF SARDINIA TO GUILDHALL.
1855.

Obv.—Bust of the King to the left, with legend: VICTORIUS EMMANUEL II. REX SARDINIAE IN LONDONIUM A PRAESIDE CIVIBUSQUE RECEPTUS.

Rev.—Britannia, seated, introduces Sardinia (a matron with helmet and shield) to the City of London (a matron with mural crown). Legend: LIBERI LIBERIS GRATULANTUR SOCIIS. In the exergue, the City Arms and DEC. 4, 1855.

Engraved by B. Wyon. Size, 77 millimetres.

No. 16. CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL MATHEMATICAL PRIZE. 1857.

Obv.—The City Arms surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves. Legend: CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL. FOUNDED 1834.

Rev.—Wreath with arms of the Edkin family at top. Legend: EDKINS MEMORIAL PRIZE FOR MATHEMATICS. INST. 1857.

Engraved by W. Wyon. Size, 48 millimetres.

No. 17.¹ RECEPTION OF THE PRINCESS ALEXANDRA. 1863.

Obv.—Bust to the left, over which is ALEXANDRA.

Rev.—A group in front of the triumphal arch erected at London Bridge, over which is WELCOME ALEXANDRA. A draped figure with mural crown, representing London, welcomes the Princess, who is led by the Prince of Wales. On the left is Hymen, and on the right Peace and Plenty, the latter waiting on bended knee to present a necklace and earrings, which are borne on a velvet cushion. Exergue: City Arms. MAR. 1863.

Engraved by J. S. and A. B. Wyon. Size, 77 millimetres.

No. 18. CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL. STEWART MEMORIAL PRIZE. 1866.

Obv.—Same as No. 16.

Rev.—Wreath, with legend: STEWART MEMORIAL PRIZE. INSTITUTED 1866.

Engraved by W. Wyon. Size, 48 millimetres.

No. 19. CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL. ENGLISH PRIZE. 1868.

Obv.—Same as No. 4.

Rev.—The arms and crest of the Mowlem family. Motto: LABORE. Legend: ENGLISH PRIZE. FOUNDED BY JOHN MOWLEM, ESQ., A.D. 1868.

Engraved by B. Wyon. Size, 58 millimetres.

WILLIAM BLADES.

11, Abchurch Lane,

¹ For Plate IX. representing this medal, the Numismatic Society is indebted to Mr. W. Blades.



MEDAL STRUCK BY ORDER OF THE CORPORATION OF LONDON, 1863

VII.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

(Continued from vol. ix. p. 318.)

BY MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM.

BEFORE the death of Eukratides the empire of the Bactrian Greeks had been extended from Sogdiana to the mouths of the Indus, and from the great Drangian lake to the banks of the Hesudrus or Satlej. But after his murder, the wide dominions which he had held together with so much difficulty crumbled to pieces, and the once famous kingdom of Bactria was no more. The succession to the throne must have been obstinately disputed, as several of his sons, or principal officers, would appear to have seized upon different parts of the empire, where they made themselves independent. To add to the confusion, the Scythians just then invaded Bactria from the north, and at the same time Mithridates I., the most able and powerful of the Parthian monarchs, attacked the western provinces of Aria and Drangiana.

Of the presumed competitors for the throne of Eukratides Apollodotus alone is known to history. The probable career of Heliokles and Epander has already been

sketched, and that of Diomedes and Straton, the other supposed sons of Eukratides, will follow hereafter. Where so little is known I must claim every indulgence for the conjectures which I now venture to offer regarding the immediate successors of Eukratides. According to my view, Apollodotus was the eldest son of Eukratides, and was associated in the kingdom with his father before the Indian campaign. Heliokles was another son, who was left as governor in Bactria. Epander, a third son, was perhaps governor of Alexandria Opiane, or the Upper Kabul Valley; and Diomedes, a fourth son, was governor of Demetrias, or Peukelaotis, in the Lower Kabul Valley. Straton, who may have been either a fifth son, or a principal officer of Eukratides, I take to have been governor of Taxila in the Panjâb. His later coins give the title of *Philopator*, which is generally admitted to denote the royalty of the father; but if, as I suppose, these coins belong to a second Straton, the son and successor of the first, the royalty of the father would apply to Straton himself. The connection with Eukratides is, however, a mere conjecture; and I should prefer to associate him with Demetrius and Lysias, did not his wife, Agathokleia, appear to have a better claim to that relationship. This, however, is not a very strong objection, as the marriage of brothers and sisters was a common practice in the royal families of Syria and Egypt at this very period. I am inclined, therefore, to consider Straton and Agathokleia as the brother and sister of Lysias, and the children of Demetrius. I suppose Straton to have held the Eastern Panjâb during the reigns of Lysias and Antialkidas, and to have been tributary to Eukratides just before his murder, after which he made himself the undisputed master of the Panjâb.

APOLLODOTUS THE GREAT. PHILOPATOR, SOTER.

1. $\circ \text{AR}$ 11. *Didrachma*. Plate IX., Fig. 1. Author, 152.5 grs. Duplicate, Brit. Mus., from author. Only these two specimens known.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulder. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmeted and draped figure of Athene Promachos moving to left, with ægis on left arm, and thunderbolt in upraised right hand. In field to left No. 48 monogram, and to right No. 49 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa tradatasa Apaladatasa*.

2. $\circ \text{AR}$ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate IX., Fig. 2. Author, 36 grs. Rare. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., 13. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king as on No. 1. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 1. In field to left No. 46 monogram. A few specimens have No. 51, and a single coin has No. 71.

3. $\circ \text{AR}$ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate IX., Fig. 3. Author, 36.5 grs. Very rare. Duplicates, Brit. Mus. and E. I. Mus.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king as on No. 1. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 1. In field to left the Arian character *di*, and to right No. 74 monogram. Arian legend as on No. 1.

4. $\circ \text{AR}$ 6. *Hemidrachma*. Plate IX., Fig. 4. Author, 31 grs. Rare. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., 15. Thomas, No. 3.

Obv.—Indian elephant moving to right. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

Rev.—Humped Indian bull moving to right. Circular Arian legend, *Mahurajasa Apaladatasa tradatasa*.

5. □ Æ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate IX., Fig. 5. Author, 36·5 grs. Common. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., 16. Thomas, No. 2.

Obv.—Elephant as on No. 4. Legend on three sides, the same as on No. 4. In exergue ΕΕ.

Rev.—Bull as on No. 4. Arian legend on three sides, the same as on No. 4. In exergue NO. Other specimens have Nos. 10, 17, 81, and 85 monograms.

6. ○ Æ 12. *Hemiobol*. Plate IX., Fig. 6. Author, 255 grs. Rare. None in the Masson collection. Thomas, No. 5.

Obv.—Apollo standing to right, clad in the chlamys and anaxyrides, or tight eastern trousers, with quiver behind left shoulder, and holding out an arrow with both hands. In field to left No. 74 monogram. Circular legend as on No. 3.

Rev.—Tripod. In field to right and left the Arian letters *di* and *u*. Circular Arian legend, as on No. 3. On a few specimens the legends are disposed in three straight lines.

A single specimen, procured in Bannu by Colonel Honner, has No. 68 monogram, with the Arian letters *a* and *r*, with foot-strokes attached, as in the Arian characters on the coins of Pakores.

7. □ Æ 6. *Lepton*. Plate IX., Fig. 7. General Van Cortlandt. Very rare. Thomas, No. 9.

Obv.—Rude figure of Apollo to right, holding out an arrow, as on No. 6, surrounded by a square of astragalus beading. No legend.

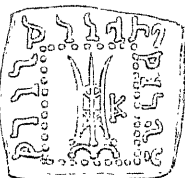
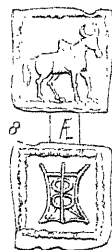
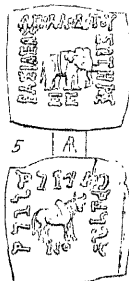
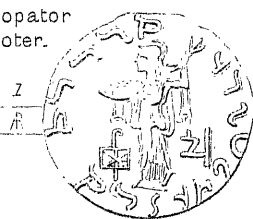
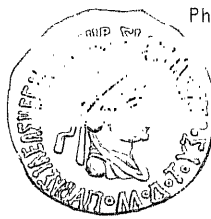
Rev.—Royal diadem, with ends hanging down. Arian legend on three sides, *Maharajasa tradatasa Apaladatasa*.

8. □ Æ 6. *Half-Lepton*? Plate IX., Fig. 8. Author, 22 grs. Thomas, No. 10.

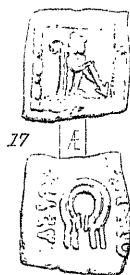
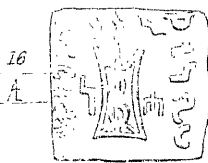
Obv.—Humped Indian bull to right, in a square of astragalus beading. No legend.

Rev.—Tripod in a similar square. No legend.

APOLLODOTUS the Great
Philopator
Soter.



DIONYSIUS Soter.



9. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate IX., Fig. 9. Author, 133 grs. Very rare. Thomas, No. 4.

Obv.—Draped figure of Apollo holding out an arrow, as on No. 6, with bow resting on the ground before him, in a square of astragalus beading. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Tripod, surrounded by a square of astragalus beading. In field to right No. 46 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, *Maharajasa tradatasa Apaladatusa*.

9a. □ Æ 7. *Chalkous*. 68 grs.

Types and legends as on No. 9, but legend disposed in four lines.

10. □ Æ 9. *Hemiobol*. Plate IX., Fig. 10. Author, 261 grs. Rare. Thomas, No. 6.

Obv.—Draped figure of Apollo holding out an arrow, as on No. 6. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Tripod surrounded by a square of large beads. In field to right the Arian letter *bu*. Arian legend on three sides, *Muharajasa tradatasa Apaladatusa*.

10a. □ Æ 7. *Dichalkon*. Author, 147 grs.

10b. □ Æ 7. *Chalkous*. Author, 47 grs.

Types and legends as on No. 10, with No. 46 monogram.

11. □ Æ 10. *Dichalkon*. Plate IX., Fig. 11. Brit. Mus., 165 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Draped figure of Apollo standing to front, holding a bow in his upraised left hand, and resting an arrow on the ground with his right hand. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Tripod. In field to left No. 48 monogram, and to right No. 49 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, *Maharajasa tradatasa Apaladatusa*.

12. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate IX., Fig. 12. Author, 117 grs. Duplicate, Mr. E. C. Bayley. Extremely rare. Thomas, No. 11.

Obv.—Draped figure of Apollo seated on a chair to right, and holding out a bow in his left hand. Legend on three sides, as on No. 11.

Rev.—Tripod. In field to right No. 140 monogram and the Arian letter *s*, and to left the Arian letter *t* or *r*. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 11.

13. □ Æ 10. *Trichalkon*. Plate IX., Fig. 13. Author, 193 grs. Very rare.

Obv.—Apollo naked, standing to front, holding an arrow downwards in his right hand, and resting his bow on the ground with his left hand. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

Rev.—Tripod in a beaded square. In field to right No. 77 monogram, forming the letters KA or AK. Arian legend on three sides, *Maharajusa Apuladatasa tradatasa*.

13a. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon*. Mean of twelve specimens, 143 grs. Very common. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., 17. Thomas, No. 7.

Types and legends as on No. 13. The usual monograms are Nos. 17, 20, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, and 131.

14. □ Æ 7. *Chalkous*. Plate IX., Fig. 14. Author, 59 grs. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., 19.

Obv.—Apollo standing, as on No. 13, but with the arrow resting on the ground. Same legend as on No. 13.

Rev.—Tripod in beaded square. Arian legend as on No. 13. In field to right No. 66 monogram.

All the specimens of this type are of inferior execution.

DIONYSIUS. SOTER.

1. ○ Æ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate IX., Fig. 15. Author, 36 grs. Duplicates, E. I. Mus. and Calcutta Asiat. Soc., all from General Abbott's collection. Extremely rare. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on shoulder. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmated figure of Athene Promachos, moving to left, with ægis on left arm, and thunderbolt in upraised right hand. In field to right No. 74 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa tralatasa Diunisiyasa.*

2. □ Æ 8. *Hemiobol.* Plate IX., Fig. 16. Author, 239 grs. Duplicates, E. I. Mus. and Brit. Mus., 252 grs. Very rare. Thomas, No. 2.

Obv.—Apollo clad in the chlamys and *anaxyrides*, or tight eastern trousers, standing to right, and holding out an arrow with both hands. Legend on three sides, as on No. 1.

Rev.—Tripod. In field to right and left the Arian letters *si* and *a*. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa tralatasa Diunisiyasa.*

3. □ Æ 6. *Lepton.* Plate IX., Fig. 17. Colonel Bush. See Thomas, No. 3. Indian Antiquities, pl. xlii., fig. 7.

Obv.—Rude figure of Apollo, as on No. 2, in a square of astragalus beading, but without legend.

Rev.—Royal diadem, with ends hanging down. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 2.

ZOILUS. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ, ΣΟΤΕΡ.

1. ○ A 8. *Hemidrachma.* Plate X., Fig. 1. Author, 36·5 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right with chlamys on shoulder. Legend semicircular above and straight below, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΞΩΙΑΟΥ.

Rev.—Herakles standing to front, carrying the lion's skin, and club sloping over his left arm, and holding out a wreath with his right hand. On his left shoulder stands a small winged figure of Victory, who is crowning him with her wreath. In field to left No. 18 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa dhramikasa Jhoilasa.*

2. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma*. E. I. Mus., 35 grs., from General Abbott. Duplicates, Bodleian Library, Oxford, and Lady Headfort. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Type and legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Herakles as on No. 1, but with the club upright, and without the small figure on the shoulder. In the field to left monogram No. 78 of Thomas, forming ΖΩΙΑΕΙΑς. On the Bodleian specimen the monogram is No. 87, and on Lady Headfort's coin No. 58.

3. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate X., Fig. 2. Author, 37·5 grs. Very rare. Thomas, No. 2.

Obv.—Diademed bust of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulder. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΑΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmeted figure of Athene Promachos to left, with ægis on left arm, and thunderbolt in upraised right hand. In field to right No. 145 monogram and the Arian character BO, and to left the Greek letters BO. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa tradatasa Jhoilasa*.

4. □ Æ 11. *Hemiobol*. Plate X., Fig. 3. Lady Headfort. Thomas, No. 3.

Obv.—Bearded head of the king as Herakles, covered with the lion's skin, to the right. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΪΩΙΑΟΥ.

Rev.—Club and bow case, with bow inside, surrounded by a wreath of ivy. In field to right No. 91 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, *Maharajasa dhramikasa Jhoilasa*.

5. O Æ 11. *Hemiobol*. Plate X., Fig. 4. Author, 247 grs. Rare. Thomas, No. 4.

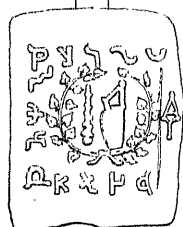
Obv.—Figure of Apollo to right, clad in the chlamys and tight eastern trousers (anaxyrides), and holding out his bow with both hands. A small elephant behind. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΑΟΥ.

Rev.—Tripod. In field to right and left the Arian letters a and r. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa tradatasa Jhoilasa*. The Brit. Mus. specimen reads *Jhoilasa*.

ZOÏLUS Dikaïos Soter



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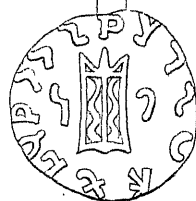


7



4

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DIOMEDES Soter



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8

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ARCHEBIUS Dikaïos Nikephoros



11

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12

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9

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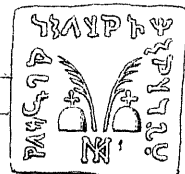
22

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28

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14

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5a. □ Æ 11. *Trichalkon*. Author, 199 grs. Duplicate, Brit. Mus.

Types and legends as on No. 5, but without the elephant. On obverse No. 142 monogram forming EYΞY, and on reverse the Arian letters *ti* and *r* on author's coin, and *ku* and *j* on Brit. Mus. specimen.

6. ○ Æ 8. *Chalkous*. E. I. Muscum, 67 grs., from General Abbott. See Plate X., Fig. 5.

Obv.—Indian elephant moving to right. Legend obliterated.

Rev.—Tripod. In field to right and left the Arian letters *a* and *r*. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa tradatasa Jhoilasa*, the name being imperfect.

6a. ○ Æ. *Lepton*. Plate X., Fig. 5. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

Obv.—Indian elephant moving to right, as on No. 6. Legend imperfect, . . ΖΩΙΑ . .

Rev.—Tripod. In field to left the Arian character *dhi*. Arian legend imperfect, *Maha(rajasa tradatasa) Jhoilasa*.

DIOMEDES. SOTER.

1. ○ Ἀ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate X., Fig. 6. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to right, with the ends of the diadem hanging behind, and the chlamys on the shoulder. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Rev.—The Dioskuri, dismounted, standing to the front, and holding their spears upright beside them. In field to right No. 139 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa tradatasa Diyamedasa*.

2. ○ Ἀ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate X., Fig. 7. Author, 28·5 grs. Much defaced. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulder. Legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Type, legend, and monogram as on No. 1; but the monogram to left.

3. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate X., Fig. 8. Author, 120 grs. Rare. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. v., fig. 1. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—The Dioskuri, dismounted, standing to the front, as on the reverse of the silver coins. Legend on three slides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

Rev.—Humped Indian bull moving to right. In field below No. 107 monogram with Σ. Arian legend on three sides, *Maharajasa tradatasa Diyamadasa*.

On other coins the monogram is No. 58, either alone, or with the letter Σ.

ARCHEBIUS. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ.

1. O Æ 11. *Didrachma*. Plate X., Fig. 9. E. I. Mus., 139 grs., from General Abbott. Unique. Thomas, No. 1. See Num. Chron., N.S., II., Plate IV., 8, and p. 267.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulder. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Half-draped figure of Zeus standing to the front, holding a sceptre in his left hand, and a thunderbolt in his upraised right hand. In field to right No. 65 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa*. See Fig. 10.

1a. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Author, 35·5 grs. Duplicate, E. I. Mus. See *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. ii., 8. Thomas, No. 1a.

Types and legends the same as on No. 1. Monogram forming the letters ΠΑΖΑΚΑ, which is Ptolemy's name for Ghazni.

2. O Æ 10. *Didrachma*. Plate X., Fig. 10. Author, 148 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Helmeted head of the king to right, with the ends of the diadem floating behind, and the chlamys on the shoulders. Circular legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Type and legend the same as No. 1, with same monogram.

2a. \circ \mathcal{R} 7. *Hemidrachma*. Brit. Mus.

Same types, legends, and monogram as No. 2.

3. \circ \mathcal{R} 10. *Didrachma*. Plate X., Fig. 11. E. I. Mus., 147.5 grs., from General Abbott. Unique. Thomas, No. 2. See Num. Chron., N.S., II., Plate IV., Fig. 9.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to left, with ends of diadem falling behind on his right shoulder; on his left shoulder the ægis; and grasping a javelin in his upraised right hand. Circular legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Type and legend the same as No. 1, with No. 139 monogram.

3a. \circ \mathcal{R} 7. *Hemidrachma*. E. I. Mus. See *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xxi., 10. Thomas, No. 3.

Types and legends as on No. 3. Monograms No. 16 and 107 with P attached.

4. \circ \mathcal{A} 10. *Dichalkon*. Plate X., Fig. 12. Author, 147 grs. Duplicates, author and Calcutta Asiatic Soc. 140 grs. Extremely rare. Thomas, No. 4.

Obv.—Winged figure of Victory moving to left, holding a palm branch in her left hand, and a wreath in her right hand. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Owl standing to front. In field to right No. 65 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Maharajasa dhramikasa jayadharasa Arkhebiyasa*.

5. \square \mathcal{A} 9. *Dichalkon*. Plate X., Fig. 13. Author, 104 grs. Extremely rare. This coin is very much corroded; but the engraving is taken from a lead impression of a good coin, which I believe to have formed part of General Ventura's collection. A silver cast of a third specimen is in the Calcutta Museum of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

Obv.—Bare, bearded, and diademed head of king, as Zeus, to right, with the shoulders draped, and a sceptre over the left shoulder. Legend on three sides, as on No. 4.

Rev.—Egg-shaped caps and palms of the Dioskuri. In exergue, No. 65 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 4.

6. □ Æ 10. *Dichalkon*. Plate X., Fig. 14. Author, 165·5 grs. Extremely rare. Duplicates: E. I. Mus. and Brit. Mus., 165 grs. See Num. Chron. XVI., Plate XVI., Fig. 3, and page 111.

Obv.—Indian elephant moving to right. Legend on three sides, as on No. 4.

Rev.—Owl to front. No. 65 monogram. Arian legend as on No. 4.

APOLLODOTUS (Philopator, Soter).

The *types* of the silver coins of Apollodotus present the figure of Athene Promachos, which is always associated with the title of Philopator and the elephant and humped bull of India. The types of the copper coins are exclusively dedicated to Apollo and his tripod, in evident allusion to the name of the king. The position of the figure of Apollo is varied on different specimens; but without a single exception, the whole of the copper money of this king is dedicated to the worship of Apollo.

There is a great variety of *monograms* on the coins of Apollodotus; but most of them are of rare occurrence. The commonest, which is found on 30 specimens out of 120, is some variety of Nos. 81 to 84, which I read as MITP. The next is No. 74, which I have found on 24 coins, sometimes accompanied by the Arian letters, *Di-u*. I read it as *Diodoteia*, which I have conjectured to be the later name of Alexandria Opiane. The next is No. 68, found on 10 specimens, which I read as *Andrapana*, because it is accompanied by the Arian letters *Ada* or *Andra* on a fine round copper coin from the Bannu valley. The *Andrapana* of Ptolemy I would identify

with Drâband, an important town to the west of the Indus on the Gomâl river, which commands the road from Dera Ismâil Khan to Ghazni and Kandahar. It may also be read as *APMATελias*, or *Harmatelia*, which is the name given by Diodorus to the "City of Brahmans," in Sindh. It is no doubt the famous city of *Brahmana* of the Hindus, and the *Brahmanabad* of the Muhammadans. No. 76, which occurs on 4 coins, may also be read as *Andrapana*; and No. 47, also on 4 specimens, is perhaps only a variety of No. 68. No. 79, which is found on 9 specimens. I read as *Alexandreia*, as the monogram of Opiane is not found on any of the coins of Apollodotus. On all the specimens that I have seen, this monogram is accompanied by the letters EI on the obverse, which may, perhaps, represent the year 15 of the king's reign. No. 10, which I read as *Arachotus*, is found on 5 coins. No. 17 on 17 coins, and No. 77 on 3 coins, I read as *Karsana*.

The coins of Apollodotus, with the title of *Soter* alone, are common; but those with the additional title of *Philopator* are comparatively rare. Only two coins have yet been found with the more ambitious title of *Megas*, or the Great; but both *Philopator* and *Megas* are confined to the Greek legends, as the Arian legends invariably present the title of *Soter* only. The find-spots of the *Philopator* coins are almost entirely limited to the Panjâb and N.W. India. There are none in the Masson collection from Kabul and Begram. General Ventura's silver specimens, which were procured in the Panjâb, are chiefly *Philopator* coins, and nearly all the silver coins found in India are of the same kind.

The readings of the monograms are at present too uncertain to be of much value in determining the extent

of the kingdom of Apollodotus. But the total absence of the two common monograms, Nos. 18 and 58, which I read as *Dionysopolis* and *Demetrias*, is of some importance, as it shows that most probably he did not possess the Lower Kabul Valley. The Philopator coins, which are all found either along the line of the Indus, or to the eastward, usually bear Nos. 47, 68, and 76 monograms, for which I have suggested *Andrapana* as a probable reading; but perhaps *Harmatelia*, or the "City of Brahmins," in Middle Sindh, is the preferable reading for the first two. The rarer monograms on the Philopator coins are Nos. 51, 66, and 72, of which the second may be read doubtfully as *MOYATavas*, or Multan.

The evidence derived from the find-spots during the last forty years is fortunately much more certain and definite. From these we learn that the kingdom of Apollodotus must have included the Upper Kabul valley in the north, Kandahar and Roh in the west and east, and Sindh in the south. These formed his permanent dominions; but at some time he must also have possessed Drangiana on the west, with the lower Panjâb and some portion of Rajputâna on the east.

In my account of Eukratides and Heliokles, I have stated all my reasons for believing that Apollodotus was the eldest son of Eukratides, who was associated in the kingdom with his father. I first published this opinion in 1840,¹ and it has since been confirmed beyond all reasonable doubt by the opportune discovery of a late coin of Eukratides struck upon an Apollodotus.² The argument for this affiliation is based partly on the use of the title of Philopator, which denotes the association of a

¹ Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1840, pp. 869, 870.

² See Plate VI., Fig. 5, of the coins of Eukratides.

son with his father, and partly on the fact that Apollodotus is the only Greek king posterior to Eukratides whose coins are found in Arachosia and Drangiana, the two western provinces of the Bactrian empire of Eukratides, which were wrested from his son by Mithridates the Great of Parthia.

The position here assigned to Apollodotus is not inconsistent with the only two passages of ancient authors in which he is mentioned by name. In the brief epitome of Trogus Pompeius, the notice of the occupation of Sogdiana and Bactriana by the Scythians is immediately followed by the mention of the exploits of the Indian kings Apollodotus and Menander.³ Now the Scythian occupation of the countries on the Oxus is fixed by the Chinese writers in the year B.C. 163, or shortly after the death of Eukratides, an event which perhaps suggested, or at least precipitated, the Scythian invasion; and, as these exploits of Apollodotus and Menander are the only other points of Eastern history noticed by the epitomizer, I conclude that they must have formed the most striking portion of the history of the Greek kings of Ariana and India between the death of Eukratides in B.C. 165, and the final downfall of the Greek power in B.C. 126. This view is fully supported, not only by the great abundance of the coins of these two princes, but also by the great extent of country over which they are now found.

The second mention of Apollodotus is in the well-known passage of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea,⁴

³ Prolog. Trog. Pomp. xli. "Deinde qua re præsertim Scythiæ gentes Saraucæ et Asiani Bactra occupavere. . . . Deinde quoque res additæ gestæ per Apollodotum et Menandrum reges eorum." As the Scythians had occupied Bactriana *eorum* must refer to India.

⁴ Hudson. Geog. Vet. Script. i. 27, "ἁφ' οὗ μέχρη νῦν ἐν

where the author states that "even in his time ancient drachmas were current at Barygaza, bearing in Greek characters the stamp of the kings Apollodotus and Menander, who reigned after Alexander." From this statement I would draw the same inferences of length of reign and extent of power that have already been arrived at from the notice of Trogus, as well as from the evidence afforded by the abundance and wide-spread extent of the find-spots of his coins.

In both of these passages the name of Apollodotus is placed before that of Menander, which is a point of some importance, as Wilson and Raoul Rochette have supposed him to have been the son and successor of Menander.⁵ In the notice of the *Periplus* it is perhaps possible that the order of the names may be accidental; but it seems to me much more probable that the author must have been acquainted with their history and relative positions. In the notice of Trogus, which is a chronological epitome of events, the order of the names cannot be accidental; and I accept the joint testimony of the two passages as a sufficient proof that Apollodotus was the predecessor of Menander.

According to my view Apollodotus was the eldest son of Eukratides, and was associated with his father as joint king at the opening of his Indian campaign, about

Βαρνγάξαις παλαιαὶ προχωροῦσι δραχμαὶ, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικαῖς ἐγκεχαράγμεναι, ἐπισημάτων μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον βασιλευκότων, Ἀπολλοδότου καὶ Μενάνδρου.

⁵ Wilson. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 288. "Menander, who it seems to be admitted generally, was probably the predecessor and father of Apollodotus." Raoul Rochette, in *Jour. des Sav.*, Oct., 1835, p. 579, says, "Philopator, et de là il résulte, presque avec certitude, qu'Apollodote était fils, et qu'il devint le successeur de Ménandre, après lui avoir été associé de son vivant."

B.C. 168. He then assumed the title of *Philopator*, which is found upon most of his coins that have been discovered to the east of the Indus. The direction of this campaign is not indicated : but, as I have already shown reason for believing that a previous expedition had been conducted against Antialkidas in the Panjâb, his later campaign may have been directed against Sindh and the provinces on the Lower Indus. The coins of Eukratides himself afford no indications on this point, and the readings of the monograms on the *Philopator* coins of Apollodotus are not sufficiently certain to offer a trustworthy clue. It is therefore only a plausible conjecture that the Indian campaign of Eukratides was conducted from Arachosia against the provinces on the Lower Indus. The expedition was successful, and India was added to the dominions of Eukratides. The conclusion must be given in the words of the historian, as it is much too important to be curtailed : "On his march back," says Justin,⁶ "he was murdered by his son, whom he had associated in the kingdom ; who, glorying in the parricide, as if he had slain an enemy and not his father, both drove his chariot through the blood, and ordered the body to be cast out unburied." This son I believe to have been Apollodotus ; and the immediate result of his crime I conjecture to have been the revolt of all the northern provinces ; of Bactriana under Heliokles ; of Kabul under Epander ; of Peshâwar under Diomedes ; and of Taxila and the Panjâb under Straton.

Where history is silent we must be content with

⁶ Justin. Hist. xli. 6. "Unde cum se reciperet, a filio, quem socium regni fecerat, in itinere interficitur, qui non dissimulato parricidio, velut hostem, non patrem interfecisset, et per sanguinem ejus currum egit, et corpus abjici insepultum jussit.

inferences more or less probable; but when several independent inquirers come to the same result, their mature conclusions, derived from the consideration of many minute facts, may be accepted as the best substitute for actual history. This is more especially the case with the period immediately following the murder of Eukratides. History has left no record of the consequences; but the opinions of Lassen, Wilson, General de Bartholomæi, and myself, which were all independently formed nearly thirty years ago, agree in attributing the division of the Bactrian empire among several contemporary princes to the period immediately following the murder of Eukratides.⁷

To this period I would assign the conquest of Aria and Drangiana by Mithridates the Great of Parthia, and the final separation of those provinces from the dominions of the Eastern Greeks. Bayer supposes that it was the son and successor of Eukratides who invited Demetrius Nikator to invade Parthia in B.C. 140.⁸ This view was adopted under the belief that the monogram on the single coin of Eukratides then known represented the date 108 of the Bactrian era, or B.C. 148, according to his reckoning. But as I have already pointed out that dates cannot be expressed in monograms, on account of the various readings of which they are susceptible, the late date suggested by Bayer is left without any support whatever.

According to my view, the murder of Eukratides took

⁷ *Lassen*, Zur Geschichte der Griech. und Indoskyth. Könige, 1838, p. 288, and Indische Alterthumskunde, II. xxiv., 1852; *Wilson*, Ariana Antiqua, p. 267, 1841; *De Bartholomæi*, Köhnes Zeitschrift, p. 76, 1843; *Cunningham*, Num. Chron., VIII. 175, 1843.

⁸ Hist. Regn. Græc. Bact., p. 95.

place about B.C. 165, and was immediately followed by the revolt of all the northern provinces. I suppose that Apollodotus, who was then approaching Arachosia from the Lower Indus, at once directed his arms against Epander in Kabul, whom he speedily suppressed. His next step was to make preparations for a campaign against Heliokles in Bactria. I think it highly probable that Heliokles may have sought the aid of Mithridates of Parthia, who just about that time invaded the western provinces of Aria and Drangiana, either under the specious pretence of avenging the murder of Eukratides or as an ally of Heliokles. Now it is a curious coincidence that at this very same time Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, crossed the Euphrates, and advanced to Elymaïs, from whence he retired through Media to Babylon.⁹ As no cause is assigned for this expedition, it appears to me not improbable that the assistance of the Syrian king may have been sought by Apollodotus for the protection of his western provinces against the attack of Mithridates. This suggestion is strongly supported by the fact that Elymaïs lies about midway on the direct route between Babylon and Drangiana. This advance to Elymaïs was made in B.C. 164, by which time I suppose that Mithridates had completed the conquest of Aria and Drangiana, and had, perhaps, made peace with Apollodotus, on the condition of their permanent cession to Parthia. Under this supposition the intervention of Antiochus was too late, and he accordingly returned disappointed to Babylon.¹⁰

The dominions of Apollodotus were now confined to the

⁹ Josephus, *Antiq.*, xii. 7, 2; xii. 9, 1. 1 Maccabees vi. 1; ix. 1.

¹⁰ 1 Maccabees vi. 4. "And departed thence with great heaviness, and returned to Babylon."

Paropamisadæ, or Upper Kabul valley, to Arachosia, or Afghanistan, and to the districts on the Lower Indus. With the exception of Kashmir, this is almost exactly the same extent of territory that was possessed by the Durâni kings of Kâbul in the beginning of the present century. During the struggle with Mithridates, in B.C. 164, I suppose that Diomedes may have advanced from Peshâwar, and have taken temporary possession of Kabul, from which he was at once ejected on the return of Apollodotus from Drangiana. This attack was probably followed by a more serious invasion of Straton from the Panjâb, who would appear, from his monograms, to have held possession of the two contiguous cities of Karsana and Ophiana for some time, or perhaps from B.C. 164 to 162, whilst Apollodotus still maintained his hold on Kabul itself.

About B.C. 162, as I have already stated in my account of Heliokles, I suppose that the Greeks were finally driven out of Bactriana by the Scythians, and that Heliokles then managed to establish himself in the Upper Kabul valley. Perhaps the two brothers, Apollodotus and Heliokles, may have joined their forces for the expulsion of Straton, after which Heliokles may have retained peaceful possession until B.C. 158. He was then probably succeeded for a short time by Archebius, who was perhaps his son, and in the following year I suppose Apollodotus to have once more become the undisputed master of the greater part of his old dominions, comprising Kabul, Afghanistan, and Sindh.

During this period, from B.C. 165 to 158, the Panjâb was most probably held by Straton, whom I conjecture to have been succeeded by Menander. The probable career of these two princes will be described hereafter. At present it is sufficient to say that I believe Apollodotus

and Menander to have lived in peace with each other, and that the Indian exploits attributed to them by Trogus refer to distinct campaigns in different parts of the East; those of Apollodotus being from Sindh against Rajputana, and those of Menander from the Panjâb against North-west India.

In the epitome of Trogus we have nothing recorded but the bare fact of certain exploits of Apollodotus in India; but if we may make a guess, founded on the actual campaigns of the early Mussulman conquerors, Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammed Ghorî, it seems most probable that the exploits of Apollodotus must have been directed against the famous fort of Ajmir, in Central Rajputâna, and against Khambay, and other rich cities on the western coast of India; and, perhaps, even against Ujain. This is partially corroborated by the find-spots of his coins, at Karnâl, to the north of Delhi; at Pushkar, near Ajmer, and in Gujarât; as well as by their long-continued currency at Barygaza, as noticed by the author of the "Periplus." My own impression is that Barygaza itself must have formed part of the dominions of Apollodotus, and that the capture of this rich commercial city was amongst the exploits referred to by Trogus.

It is difficult to determine the length of reign that should be assigned to Apollodotus. His coins are certainly common; but they are much less numerous than those of either Eukratides or Menander, and about twice as common as those of Antialkidas. I would, therefore, assign him a reign of about fifteen years alone, or of eighteen years from the time of his association with his father. A few of his copper coins bear the detached letters EI, or fifteen, on the obverse, in addition to the usual monogram on the reverse; and as this is probably

intended for the year of his reign, the period which I have assigned him, between B.C. 165 and 150, is not too long.

Wilson assigns to Apollodotus a somewhat shorter, but a very much later, reign, between B.C. 110 and 100.¹¹ But if any credit is to be given to the date of B.C. 126, which is assigned by Chinese writers for the occupation of Kabul by the Scythians, and which is confirmed by the classical notices of the wars between the Parthians and Scythians, it is certain that Wilson's date must be about half a century too late. Lassen¹² agrees with me in placing Apollodotus immediately after Eukratides; but he makes the date a few years later, or B.C. 160, and assigns to him and to his two ephemeral successors, Zoilus and Dionysius, a reign of sixteen years, down to B.C. 144.

DIONYSIUS. (Soter.)

All that we know of Dionysius is derived from about twelve coins—four of silver, and seven or eight of copper—which are rude imitations of the money of Apollodotus. The silver coins bear the figure of Athene Promachos, and the copper coins have Apollo and his tripod. The common monogram is No. 74, which I read as *Diodoteia*, or *Ophiana*; but a single specimen has No. 115, which is found also on the coins of Hippostratus and Azas. One coin, which has been traced, was obtained at Kabul, but none were found at Begram by Masson. The four silver coins were found in a pot on the bank of the Upper Satlej, along with several specimens of Apollodotus and Zoilus; but, as they were evidently hidden there by the

¹¹ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 288.

¹² *Indische Alterthumskunde* II. xxiv.

owner, their place of discovery may not have been within the dominions of Dionysius. From these scanty data I suppose Dionysius to have been the son of Apollodotus, and to have succeeded his father on the throne of Kabul for a few months in B.C. 150.

ZOILUS. (Dikaios Soter.)

The coins of Zoilus are extremely rare, and of different styles of execution, some being nearly equal to the coins of Apollodotus, whilst others are much ruder, and some are so barbarous as to be nearly illegible. The number of specimens known to me is under thirty, of which about one-half are silver of the Athene Promachos type, and one-fifth silver of the Herakles type. The remainder are copper, of the Apollo and tripod type, with one exception of the Hercules type, and two of the elephant and tripod.

The type of the elephant connects Zoilus with India, and that of Apollo and the tripod with Apollodotus; but the type of the standing Herakles belongs to the family of Lysias and Demetrius. The find-spots of his coins are not sufficiently known to warrant any certain conclusions as to the scene of his rule. Four different specimens of his coins were obtained in Kabul, and about twice as many in the Panjâb; but I have been unable to trace the find-spots of the remainder, excepting the few silver coins found in the pot on the bank of the Upper Satlej, as already noticed.

The monograms of Zoilus are very varied for the small number of his coins. There are three specimens with No. 74, or *Diodoteia*, in the Upper Kabul valley; two with No. 18, or *Dionysopolis*, in the Middle Kabul valley; one with No. 58, or *Demetrias*, in the Lower Kabul

valley; two with No. 68, either *Andrapana* to the west of the Indus, or *Harmatelia* in Sindh; and four with No. 142, or *Euthydemia*, in the Panjâb. These readings of the monograms agree with the find-spots of the coins in fixing the seat of his rule in the Kabul valley and Panjâb, but they give no hint as to the principal seat of his authority. I gather, however, from the types of Apollo and the tripod, that Zoilus must have been one of the sons or successors of Apollodotus, who reigned for a short time after Dionysius. But as none of his coins were found at Begrâm by Masson, his reign over the Upper Kabul valley must have been a short one. From the variety of his monograms, which include those of the principal cities in the Kabul valley, as well as that of Euthydemia or Sangala in the Panjâb, I am inclined to suppose that he may have become tributary to Menander, by whom he was probably transferred to the government of the eastern Panjâb. But our present data are so scanty, that until more of his coins have been discovered, and their find-spots well ascertained, all speculations regarding the exact locality of his rule must be very vague. According to my conjecture, he must have flourished from about B.C. 150 to 146.

DIOMEDES. (Soter.)

Diomedes is another of the ephemeral princes, whom I suppose to have reigned for a short time after the death of Eukratides. His chief type of the dismounted Dioskuri connects him so directly with that prince,¹³ as to suggest a conjecture that he may have been one of his sons. His

¹³ See Plate V., Fig. 10, of the coins of Eukratides for the type of the dismounted Dioskuri.

only other type of the humped bull, connects him with India, and as his commonest monogram is No. 58, which I read as *Demetrias*, or *Peukelaotis* in the Lower Kabul valley, I am inclined to fix that place as the chief seat of his short-lived authority. Two of his coins bear the monogram of *Ophiana*, No. 139; but three others have No. 107, which is found also on the coins of *Philoxenes*, who certainly reigned in the Panjâb. Only one specimen of his coinage was found at *Begrâm* by *Masson*; and of ten other specimens, of which I have a record, only one was obtained at *Kabul*, two at *Peshâwar*, and seven in the Panjâb. The number of the coins of *Diomedes* hitherto found is too small to yield any certain inferences; but judging from the data afforded by the few known specimens, I infer that the chief seat of his power must have been in the Lower Kabul valley. I conjecture that he may have been one of the sons of *Eukratides*, who made himself independent on the murder of his father by *Apollodotus*; that he afterwards held *Ophiana* for a short time, perhaps under *Apollodotus*, and that he was eventually overthrown by *Straton*. His reign may have extended from B.C. 165 to 163.

· ARCHEBIUS. (*Dikaïos Nikephoros*.)

The coins of *Archebius* are even rarer than those of *Zoïlus*, and *Diomedes*. I know of only eighteen specimens, nine in silver and seven in copper, of which six are in my own cabinet. In fabric they resemble the coins of *Heliokles*, with which they are also connected by the types of the thundering *Zeus*, and the Indian elephant, with sloping back. The greater number of these coins were obtained at *Kabul*, and in its neighbourhood, although

none were found at Begrâm by Masson. Ten out of the eighteen known specimens bear No. 65 monogram, which I read as *Nikaia*, or Kabul. Four coins have No. 16 monogram, which I read as *Karsana*. Three others have a new monogram, which I read as TAZAKA, and identify with Ghazni; while only a single specimen has the monogram of Ophiana, No. 139. The monograms therefore agree with the find-spots in fixing Archebius at Kabul; and as both the types and fabric of his coins seem to connect him with Heliokles, I suppose that he may have been the son and successor of that prince in Kabul.

From the great rarity of his coins it is certain that the reign of Archebius must have been a short one, and I would therefore assign him only a single year, immediately following the death of Heliokles, in B.C. 158.

The copper coins of Archebius present us with four different types, viz., Victory, an owl, an elephant, and the caps and palms of the Dioskuri. Of these the first and last are found on the coins of Eukratides, which tends to confirm the supposed relationship between Archebius and Heliokles that I have just suggested. These copper coins are remarkable for the neatness and perfection of their workmanship, the size of the metal blanks having been carefully adjusted to that of the die.

VIII.

ON THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF GREEK COINS.

BY PROF. DR. ERNST CURTIUS.

It is with great pleasure that I lay before the Society a translation, which Professor Curtius has kindly given me permission to publish in the Numismatic Chronicle, of his paper "on the religious character of Greek coins," which appeared last summer in the "*Monatsbericht der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.*" English Numismatists interested in the obscure question of the origin of coinage, some of whom may not have had the time or the opportunity of reading it in the original language, will, I am sure, be glad to see it in an English dress. I trust they will pardon the occasional obscurity of the translation, which is a first attempt, but the views of so celebrated an historian and archæologist as Professor Curtius, on a subject so closely connected with his especial studies, are, I think, of so great importance that I have endeavoured to render them intelligible to those readers of the Numismatic Chronicle who are not acquainted with the German language. Some, I doubt not, will differ from the Professor on many points; but we must all join in thanking him for an essay containing so much new and weighty matter for consideration.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

May, 1870.

COINS have long been made use of as sources of the history of Religion and Art-Mythology, but upon what the religious character of coins rests, and especially what is their relation to religious worship, no one has yet inquired. Neither has the question been weighed, which must yet force itself upon our minds when we approach this subject, as to whether the symbol of the deity was placed upon the coin as the town arms and by the civil authorities of the state; or whether it stands in a nearer and more immediate relation to the cultus from which the symbol is borrowed.

The first expresses the usual view, whilst divers considerations lead us to a different opinion. The deities whose symbols served as types for coins were not always the town or state deities. Who, for instance, can ascribe such a signification to Aphrodite in regard to Argos under the dominion of Pheidon? We shall rather be obliged to concede that as Ægina, the first commercial place of Central Greece, had been made the place of mintage by Argolis, so also the Aphrodite of Ægina, in her quality of a goddess of trade, and promoter of international unity, became a goddess of the coinage. Thus, then, the use of her symbol as a coin type will not be merely a convenient one contrived by the state, but we shall have to seek in *her* the initiative, and in her sanctuary the germ, of the European Greek coinage.

Aphrodite Urania, through Boeckh's investigations, has become the central point of the history of ancient civilisation. Her sanctuary formed the kernel of every Sidonian factory, whence we find her worship on all the coasts of the Archipelago devoted to maritime intercourse. Every occupation, trade, or industry, such as fishing and mining pursued by the inhabitants, was under her protection.

Through her means did the precious metals, with the Babylonian systems of value and weights, make their way into Greece. Her priests first introduced the metals as measures of value, for, with the improvement of maritime intercourse, the exchange of wares such as formerly prevailed in the inland territory was first shown to be insufficient. They first collected stores of precious metal, and marked with the symbol of the deity the ingots belonging to the temple-treasury, just as in the temples of Apollo the furniture belonging to the sacred inventory was marked with a lyre.¹ The weighed and stamped lumps of metal were then put into circulation to the furtherance of a commerce profitable to the priesthoods. We must therefore suppose that the first beginnings of the traffic by money were made, as it were, alongside of the trade by barter, and the traffic by bars of metal.

I shall endeavour to bring forward proofs of this view during our examination of the relation in which the temples stood to the national prosperity, of the want which must have been felt in the temples for stamped pieces of metal of a fixed value; and, lastly, of the facts from which we must infer the existence of a temple coinage.

The gods were the first capitalists in Greece, their temples were the earliest banks. The temple treasury, which had its origin in regular income, consecrations, and bequests, was under the care of the priests, who, with their superior knowledge of the world, knew how to increase the same in every possible way. They made use of the sacred precincts of the temples as places for the

¹ Marble cups, with the symbol of the lyre, in the Knidian sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo, discovered by Newton. *Cf.* Gött. Gel. Anz., 1864, p. 380.

reception of valuable deposits in times of universal insecurity; they made advances to communities and individuals; they took part in profitable undertakings; on their support was dependent the possibility of colonization beyond the seas, and even of a vigorous warfare, such as, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians waged against the Spartans. As, therefore, we find all the financial strength of the land and the power of wealth concentrated in the temples, it becomes highly probable that all essential progress in the knowledge of the value of the precious metals, as well as the institution of money as a medium of exchange, emanated from these centres.

Beside these great commercial unions, by means of which the temples partook of the character of banks, there existed in many sanctuaries a small traffic, which had to be entirely conducted on the spot, so that they could no longer confine themselves to the exchange of wares and bars of metal, but were compelled to have recourse to the production of pieces of metal struck to certain fixed values. Thus we know, from the numerous relics of Aphrodite with which we are acquainted, that there existed perpetual bazaars of such articles. In Paphos, for instance, small consecrated images of the goddess were offered for sale, to procure which the sailors used to go up from the port to the temple.² At the present time we are acquainted with these statuettes, of a yellowish limestone, which have been brought to light in countless numbers from the soil of Cyprus. Another portion of the trade of the priests consisted, doubtless, in very early times, of objects appertaining to the sacrifices ;

² Athen., 676.

it was convenient to the pilgrims, and surely no blame is to be attached to them for it, to obtain them on the spot; hence the woods and pasture lands round the greater temples, and the large profit which the priest-hoods, such, for instance, as that of Hera, on the promontory of Lakinium, obtained from the sacred flocks and herds in the temple precincts.³

To this occupation (the sale of sacrificial objects), which indeed was the one most advantageous to the cultus, must be added other customs having their foundation in the cultus, which must have led to the coining of money. Thus, the prostitution of girls born in Babylon was a part of the service of the Babylonian Mylitta. Sitting in front of the temple, they had to follow any stranger who threw a piece of money into their laps. The money was sacred, and went into the temple treasury.⁴

This cultus, by different roads, and in various forms, made its way into Greece; as the worship of Aphrodite Mylitta, it penetrated over Syria into Cyprus. In Kappadocia and Pontus we find the same customs observed in the worship of Anaïtis. Whether this self-dedication to strangers as a religious duty was required on the part of all the daughters of the land, or whether this custom was confined to maidens in service of the temple, the cultus of the goddess was always desirous that an opportunity should be given to the crowds of pilgrims to discharge, by means of a small sum of money, their tribute to the deity. Besides this, there were many other kinds of money-payments made on the part of the pilgrims to the temple treasury, whether for board and lodging, or for advice and prophecy. In the precinct of Hermes at

³ Liv., 24, 3.

⁴ Herod., i. 199.

Pharæ, whoever wished to obtain an oracle of the god, placed upon his altar, to the right of his image, one of the appointed copper coins of the country.⁵

A third method employed for raising funds were the contests which were celebrated at the temple feast in honour of the temple deity; the institution, regulation, and conduct of which was a priestly art. The costs were originally all discharged from the temple treasury, which had the disposal for this object of the interest of particular bequests (*cf.* the interest of the bequest to the sanctuary of Dionysos in Korkyra, according to the deed of gift which has been preserved to us).⁶ On such occasions also prizes in money were given away, for which purpose special coins were struck, among which we may notice the didrachm of Metapontum, remarkable also in other respects, with the legend Ἀχελόου ἀθλον, which was thus a prize coin, distributed, as it were, by Acheloos himself, in whose honour the games were held.⁷ The didrachms of Terina, on the reverse of which stands a Nike, together with the town goddess, who holds a laurel wreath, will probably bear a similar interpretation.

To these may be added a large class of coins upon which emblems, figures, and inscriptions occur, offering unmistakable allusions to the public games; fillets, amphoræ, palm branches, ivy wreaths (on coins of Phlius, reminding us of the feast of the *κισσοτόμοι*),⁸ bulls garlanded for the sacrifice, figures holding wreaths, who summon to the contest in the name of the deity, or

⁵ Pausan., 7, 22.

⁶ C. I. Gr. n., 1845. Böckh Staatsh. d. Ath., i. p. 419.

⁷ Millingen, *Ancient Coins*, p. 17. O. Jahn, in Gerhard's *Arch. Ztg.*, 1862, p. 321.

⁸ Leake, *Num. Hell. Eur.*, p. 92.

hover before the victor, as on the coins of Side, Perga, &c.; the tripods, too, as secondary symbols on the Messenian coins, which remind us of those dedicated by the victors in Ithome.

Lastly, the numerous legends which express the relation of coins to particular feasts, as, *Ἐλευθέρια* in Kyzikos, *Ὀρτυγοθήρα* in Tarsos, *Πύθια* in a laurel wreath on coins of Delphi.⁹ These are occasional coins, for the most part of copper, struck in commemoration of solemn festivities, events in the celebration of which are sometimes represented upon them, as on the Quinarius of Laodikeia, where the temple is seen adorned with fillets, and in the front of the temple the Emperor presenting a citizen with a wreath.¹⁰ This coin was struck by the holder of the highest sacerdotal rank in Asia, to commemorate the festival celebrated under his direction; it was a votive gift, made by him according to the inscription *ἀνέθηκεν*, not confined to the temple precincts, as were perhaps a few isolated coins which were subsequently dedicated to a deity with an inscription scratched upon them, *ΝΑΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΑΠΟΑ*, for example,¹¹ but a monument passing from hand to hand among the people, and devised for that purpose; for there can be little doubt that such tokens of remembrance were distributed among the people whenever the wealth of the temple deity was exhibited at the great festivals. A relic of this I find in the Byzantine custom for the Emperor on the threshold of the church-door to order some coins to be given him by the church authorities, which he

⁹ Millingen, *Anc. Coins*, p. 71. Stark, *Mythol. Parnell*, p. 41. Duc de Luynes, *Et. Num.*, p. 100. Millingen, *Rec.* p. 44.

¹⁰ Pinder, *Verz. der Münzen*, n. 379.

¹¹ Didrachms of Kroton. Mionnet, *Suppl. i. tom. ix.* 23.

distributed among the people.¹² In antiquity, also, the threshold of the temple was the place whence the payments were made by the authorities of the temple.¹³ To this class of festival coins will belong a large number of those copper coins struck, according to their legends, under the authority of the ἀρχιερεύς, ἱερέυς, στεφανηφόρος, or other religious officers.¹⁴

Finally, we have coins designated as "festival coins," not merely by supposition, but by express declaration: these were issued from a temple. To this class belongs the coin of Miletos ἡ ἐκ Διδύμων ἱερῇ.¹⁵

Thus now that we have recognised the need which must have been felt in the sanctuaries for a coinage, as well as the manifold relations existing between coins and the services of the temples, the fact may be placed beyond all doubt, and even confirmed by authentic proofs, that the authorities of the Greek temples issued coins from their treasuries.

Neither can this have been an isolated fact; otherwise, without doubt, traces of a distinction between coins issued by the state and sacred coins might have been shown. Instead of which, notwithstanding all differences of style, the most special relations have been maintained through all periods between the worship of the temple and the type of the coins, and, generally, in the presence of a boundless variety of local mintage, the religious feeling appears as the one ever-present and common characteristic.

¹² Constant. Porph. de Cerem., i. p. 18; c. xxiii. p. 135 ed. Bonn. Cf. Henry de Longperier, in the *Revue Archéol.* 1869, p. 162.

¹³ Gött. Nachrichten, 1864, p. 144.

¹⁴ Mionnet, *Tables Gén. Magistrats locaux. Prêtres*, p. 88.

¹⁵ Millingen, *Sylloge*, p. 70.

Hence the connection between the municipal coinage and the sanctuaries. The Argives consecrate their obsolete bar-money in the temple of Hera, and coin their new money in the sanctuary of Aphrodite. In Athens, Theseus is the inventor of coinage; and Rome certainly adhered to a constant tradition when she inaugurated in a temple the introduction of the Greek coinage.

All Hellenic money was sacred, and the place of mintage holy ground—a sort of temple not to be inhabited by any mortal without grave offence. And nowhere did the distinction between Hellenes and barbarians appear more evidently than in their coinage. On foreign money were the portraits of the Great King and his satraps; while with the Hellenes not even the most absolute of tyrants would have ventured so to push forward their portraits. And even afterwards, when pæans had been sung to a Lysander, the iconic characteristics on the coins of Alexander had to be in a manner smuggled in, a profile being given of the divine ancestor of the race, which bore a resemblance to the reigning descendant. Even the ambition of the most skilful engravers feared to encroach upon the sacred ground. Not till the divine and the human became so intermingled that arrogant conquerors could gain an entrance to the Parthenon, did the coinage also become desecrated by human portraits.

The religious character of ancient coins is a universally recognised fact. And although attempts are now and then made to regard the types of coins as profane representations, and as arbitrary allusions to this or that local peculiarity, the fact remains universally acknowledged in principle: a fact, too, which as yet has not been explained, notwithstanding the need so much felt for a satisfactory illustration of it, for we commonly suppose that nothing

is more thoroughly profane than money. The Didymaic drachma directs us to the true solution of the problem. For, as we observe in the public life of the Hellenes, so far as it is known to us in history, everywhere a continuous decay of the priestly power, of the original extent of which isolated traces only are recognisable, so shall we accept even this sacred coin of the Branchidæ as a relic only of the old privilege of coining enjoyed by the Greek sanctuaries: and as the first coins must necessarily have been issued either by the state or by the priests, we arrive at the conclusion that all Greek coins were originally sacred, and all money the property of the temples; and that, as did the systems of weights and measures, of the division of time and the kalendar, so too did that of the coinage originate with the priesthoods, and not until a later period pass over into the hands of the state.

The question is, whether these events, concerning which no tradition whatever exists, become any clearer through analogy and the combination of scattered facts under a common point of view.

In the first place, it is to be noticed here, that between the religious and political institutions of antiquity there was not the opposition which is so familiar to our minds. The confederations out of which states and nations grew, the most ancient social unions (*συστήματα κοινά*) rest entirely upon religious foundations, as is most plainly shown where unions of this kind, instead of being supplanted by a later political organization, have maintained themselves as exceptions in the ancient form. For example, in the *σύστημα Χρυσαορέων*, the service of Zeus Chrysaoreus formed a single central point. From him the name of the district confederacy is derived, in like manner as the Lycians learned, in the common worship of Apollo,

to feel themselves one body, and from him took their name. In these provincial confederations are to be sought the preliminary conditions favourable to the existence of a coinage; for we cannot imagine these communities without a temple treasure, without a fellowship in matters undertaken with a common object, or without a voice as to the disposal of the temple finances.

Even after the establishment of a coinage, there were territories which had no other unity than that of a common religious worship, and where it was to the interest of the priesthood to cultivate and express this unity, not indeed merely by common annual and festival ordinances, but also by a district coinage, issued from the temple treasury and bearing the symbol of the temple deity.

The most obvious example of this is the old Arkadian coinage with the figure of Zeus Lykæus and the legend "Arkadikon," which can only have been issued by the guardians of the treasure of the mighty protector of the land, whose throne was the Arkadian Olympos.¹⁶ Here we have demonstrably a coin of no state, a sacred temple-coin, though it is not furnished, like that of Miletos, with an inscription to that effect. Now this can hardly have been the only example, although in other districts, *e.g.*, Thessaly, Elis, &c., it cannot be shown with equal certainty that there was no political power at hand capable of supporting a coinage. In Roman times, we may class the copper money, *κοινὸν Κυπρίων*, among temple coins struck in the precinct of the Paphian goddess. Thus, too, perhaps, light may be thrown upon a series of facts, hitherto unexplained, such, for instance, as the occurrence of Greek coins struck at places which

¹⁶ Cf. Pinder und Friedländer, Beitr. zur älteren Münzkunde, p. 88.

have either never been independent communities, as Orthia, in Elis,¹⁷ or else have lost in early times their independence, and have still continued to strike money, as Kassiope, in Korkyra, which, even in the later imperial times, still possessed its own mint.¹⁸ The legends of the Kassiopeian coins, *Zeὺς Κάσιος*, &c., point to one fixed sanctuary, a sort of stronghold, which issued them, and preserved its right of coining down to a late age.

We may conclude, then, that the Amphictyonic sanctuaries exercised everywhere an essential influence upon the development of the coinage, and that traces of this may be pointed out even where the Amphictyonies were dissolved in early times, or supplanted by political organizations of other kinds. This is especially remarkable in Magna Græcia; since, whatever common characteristics the coins of Magna Græcia possess indicative of a systematic organization, may be referred to a single point, viz., the temple of Hera, on the Lakinian promontory, which was the religious centre of all the Italian peoples, and was united to the several towns by means of processional streets. It was at once a seat of wealth, a meeting-point for the maritime and inland commerce, a centre of industry, and probably also a place of export for the productions of the mines on the Skylletian and Terinaic bays.

An evidence of this influence is the head of Hera on the coins of Poseidonia, Neapolis, Hyria, Kroton, and Pandosia,¹⁹ and as the Romans inaugurated their silver coinage in a temple of Juno, we may perhaps presume that this was done with reference to the Lakinian Juno,

¹⁷ Peloponnessos, ii. 32, 102.

¹⁸ Postolaka, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἀρχαίων νομισμάτων τῶν νήσων Κερκύρας, Λευκάδος, &c.*, 1868, p. 51.

¹⁹ Millingen, *Anc. Coins*, p. 27. Jul. Friedlaender, *Osk. Münzen*, p. 40.

in whose stead a new centre was then established in the capitol for the money traffic of Lower Italy.

As, however, the Greek coinage was, as has been shown, under a sacerdotal influence, and as a coinage was first organized and coins issued by the more important temples, so also must we go farther, and endeavour to trace the connection between the coins and the religious service of the temples, in order to ascertain whether such influences were not exercised in a manner advantageous to the particular service with which they were connected. Thus the study of the coinage leads us to the contemplation of the history of religion, and coins will become of valuable assistance in adding to our knowledge of mythology in quite another manner than has been hitherto usual, if we can prove that particular temple-services were connected advantageously with the extension of the coinage.

It was through the worship of Urania that the science of numbers, measures, and weights, as well as the use of the precious metals as measures of value, penetrated into Europe. Hence, too, it is probable that we may ascribe to these same centres the development of this science, and the advance from the traffic in bars of metal to the establishment of a coinage.

This expectation is borne out by the fact that the most ancient European money bears a symbol with which it was usual to mark objects belonging to the sanctuary of Aphrodite; for in her temples the wooden footstools were made in the form of tortoises,²⁰ and the goddess herself was represented standing upon the back of a tortoise, as is exemplified in a bronze candelabrum in our

²⁰ Athenaios, p. 589. Polem., ed. Preller, p. 76.

Antiquarium, which once formed part of the furniture of a temple.²¹

The dove of Sikyon points to the same deity, for it accompanies her from Askalon to Cyprus, and from Cyprus to Greece and Eryx ;²² for Sikyon was in ancient times in immediate connection with Cyprus. So much the more surprising is it that between Sikyon and Ægina, in Korinth, the ancient emporium of the isthmus—founded doubtless by Phœnicians—we find, as soon as the coins begin to be struck on both sides, the helmeted head, which, wherever met with, we are accustomed to designate by the name of Pallas Athene. How is it that here, in place of the cosmopolitan Aphrodite, who is connected in the clearest manner with Industry and Commerce, and who has nowhere on this side of the Ægean been more evidently influential in the introduction of Asiatic customs,—how is it that we have here got in her stead this cold virgin, averse to all that is sensual, and a stranger to commercial intercourse?

On this subject François Lenormant²³ has already remarked, with great justice, that there is no foundation for the name commonly assigned to her. The Tetrobols and Diobols of Korinth afford, instead of the helmeted goddess, an unmistakable representation of the head of Aphrodite; and the recent discoveries in Cyprus (of no less importance to the history of religion than to that of art) have even brought to light, among the numerous varieties of the native deity, some excellent examples of a helmeted type. As a warlike goddess, fully armed, and in this form removed from the sphere of sensuality, she

²¹ Panofka Skiron, iv. 12.

²² O. Jahn Berichte der S. Ges. d. Wiss., 1853, Febr.

²³ Revue Numism., 1866, p. 78.

was worshipped in Sparta and in Carthage; and to this identity of Pallas and Aphrodite in Korinth, we have besides an authentic witness in a vase painting in the British Museum, where the goddess Aphrodite appears on the chariot beside the isthmian Poseidon, and wears the ægis.²⁴

Thus does numismatic investigation go hand in hand with the history of mythology, for the beginnings of the Greek coinage only become intelligible on a recognition among her various names and attributes of the one goddess, who, from her home in Babylon, penetrated over Askalon and Cyprus into the heart of the Greek country, the bearer of the whole system of mercantile intercourse between west and east.

Not only by sea, however, did she approach Europe; on the contrary, we have already long ago recognised certain places in Upper Asia Minor, where temples existed, as the stations through which, step by step, the same goddess advanced from Babylon westwards; and by tracing this road we shall arrive with still greater certainty at a knowledge of the localities in which the Hellenic coinage was developed out of the Asiatic temple-service. As in Syria she was called Astarte, so here, in Asia Minor, she made her appearance under the name of Anaitis—the same armed goddess whom we meet again in Korinth, the goddess with whose worship in the two Komanas we are acquainted in Strabo; and so great was the conformity of the worship, extending from the Euphrates to the isthmus, that Strabo calls the Pontic Komana a second Korinth. In both places he met with the same dissolute ceremonies, the same favour extended to strangers, with the exception that, what in Mesopo-

²⁴ Lenormant et de Witte *Elite Cer.*, iii., pl. xi. *Cf.* the owl besides the dove, as a symbol of Aphrodite. iv. pl. viii.

tamia was the duty of all maidens born in the country, became among the Arian people the business of the female slaves of the temple—hence the institution of temple slavery is a characteristic of all the temples on the commercial roads leading through Kappadocia and Phrygia. Another characteristic is the hierarchy originating in, and developing itself out of, the great properties in slaves and land, and which rendered the influence of the family of the high-priests dangerous to the kings of the country. Lastly, metallurgy belongs to the same cultus; for as the mines of the island were sacred to the Cyprian Aphrodite,²⁵ so also the Kuretes, the Korybantes, and the Dactyli, attend upon the native goddess of Asia Minor. In Pessinos we find the cultus with these attributes, in which place the remnant of an hierarchical dynasty still existed in the time of Strabo; and in Sardes we must imagine similar accompaniments to the worship of the Great Goddess.

Here, in the chief town of the most industrious people of Asia Minor, we find an ancient sanctuary of this deity, a temple on whose threshold the Paktolos washed up its gold. Now, since we have ascertained that there were temple coins presumably of the most ancient description; since we have here come upon a worship which, like that which corresponded to it in Babylon, must have called forth the want of small handy pieces of a fixed value, a form of worship connected at once with commerce and metallurgy, and endowed with important priestly powers; since we find a precious metal nowhere else so easily accessible as here, on account of its colour less appropriate for ornament, while for coining it was the most convenient that could be found; and since, lastly, the

²⁵ Ovid. *Metam.*, x., 64. Ross. *Inselreisen*, iv. 160

most ancient coins of Sardes are precisely these river-gold coins, distinguished by the lion type as in a measure the property of the goddess; by these considerations, therefore, we shall find the tradition confirmed of the Lydians being the inventors of money, and we shall supplement and in a manner complete the same in imagining this oldest of coins with which the Greeks were acquainted as one that was issued by the priesthood of the Sardian Mater Deûm.

Sardes was the metropolis of this worship for all the coast of Asia Minor; a worship which had an extraordinary power over mankind, which, through its manifold relations to music, industry, and commercial intercourse, had obtained such conspicuous importance that the earliest conditions of civilisation on the coasts of the Archipelagus of which we can form an idea owe their existence to its influence. Its home was on Mount Sipylos, one of the most important birth-places of old Greek culture; and what we can affirm with most certainty concerning the Pelopidæ is this, that certain tribes of this name were the importers into Greece of the Sardian worship.²⁶ Down along the course of the Hermos from its source in the sacred mountain of Dindymene, it spread towards Phokæa; we find it in Smyrna, Magnesia, Lampsakos, and Kyzikos; and we see it, whenever a somewhat closer view is allowed us, as the ruling cultus of the town; a proof that, with the development of the commonwealth, the priesthood of the goddess obtained a prominent importance. She was from the first, in an especial sense, a town and citadel-goddess. Hence Metropolis as a name for towns in Phrygia and Lydia in the neighbourhood of Ephesos; a name which Alexander Polyhistor rightly interprets as signifying a municipal community estab-

²⁶ Gerh. Arch. Zeitung, 1853, p. 148.

lished by the Mater Deûm, like Sardes, which stood under her protection.²⁷

Now as Sardes had its sacred coinage, so too must the places of minor importance on the coast have struck their temple coins. Here, too, social relations were formed, but in quite another manner. Here a community of free citizens developed a life free from all priestly influences. The priests being the money-power, and every undertaking of importance being dependent upon the support of the temple treasury, the commonwealth, in order to have a free development, had to be placed in a condition of financial independence; and the power due to the possession of money-capital had to be taken from the priests. Of a participation in the administration of the finances between the municipality and the priesthood, we find traces in such documents as refer to donations made simultaneously to a town and to a deity there worshipped, *i.e.*, to the priests of that deity (as in the Korkyraean inscription, *πόλει καὶ Διονύσῳ*),²⁸ for, whether such formulæ are or are not strictly true in particular instances, they must nevertheless furnish conclusive evidence in cases where sacred money was under a mixed administration.

This control exercised by the municipal authorities led, however, to an interference with priestly institutions. The state sequestrated the priestly treasures, a sequestration which must have commenced at Athens during the time of the Tyrants, when the priesthood had an annuity conferred upon them, and when the great temple treasury was erected at the expense of the state, to serve at once as a treasury for the state and the temple.

Only in Athens have we traces of such transactions,

²⁷ Steph. B., *Μητρόπολις*.

²⁸ C. I. Gr. ii. p. 23.

but we must suppose a like course of events in all Greek towns, especially on the Asiatic coasts, except where, as was the case with the sanctuary at Branchidæ, special circumstances were at work to secure for the temple a more lasting independence.

Now on the transfer of the temple treasures to municipal management, the money struck thence became state money, *i.e.*, the state took the issuing into its own hands, giving its own credit in the place of that of the priests. But as it was everywhere the endeavour to make the transfer as gently as possible (whence so few traditions of conflicts between states and priesthoods) during the completion of the secularisation, the form in which it was done was concealed, and the treasuries were built like temples, their officers being invested with a sacerdotal character, while the deity was left to all appearance in full possession of her property. Thus it was also with the temple currency; the religious character was left as if it still continued to be issued by the priests, but in token that the circulation of money struck under other than state authority was no longer permitted, and that the money was recognised as the state currency, the initials of the name of the town were placed as a profane mint-mark upon the reverse. In accordance with a widely-spread custom, they served as the town arms on furniture both of war and peace, like the Δ of the Lakedæmonians, the Σ of the Sikyonians, &c. Writing occurs so sparingly, and in forms so constantly repeated, that it becomes a sort of picture or coat-of-arms. It is the Government countermark to the priestly symbol which was left unchanged; its introduction marks the secularisation of the coinage, which it seems first took place in Kyzikos and Teos.

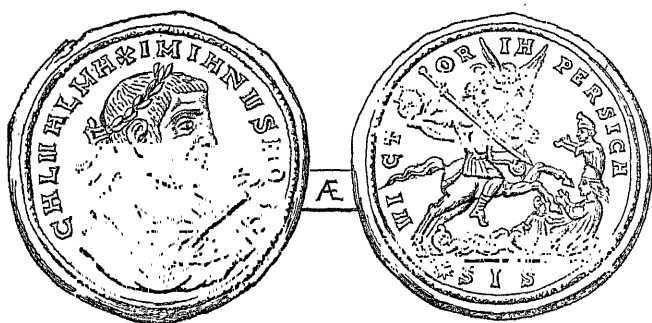
From the coast there ensued a reaction upon the interior. As in Pessinos, so too in Sardes, the dynastic power of the priesthood retreated before the kingly power, and we may ascribe the complete victory of royalty to the period when the Mermnades finally broke with the traditions of inner Asia, and sought to secure themselves against the power of the native sanctuaries by an alliance with the Greek. Krœsus carried out this policy; and if he retained the electrum coinage, it is not a far-fetched presumption to suppose that this was the old temple coinage. He instituted, in alliance with the Greek coast-towns, a new money standard for silver, and passed from the Phœnician standard to the gold talent, the basis of the Phokaic stater; but he retained the ancient lion type, which was not a royal nor a municipal mark (for we cannot regard the inhabitants of the Lydian territory as constituting an independent municipality), but the symbol of the great goddess, whose priesthood was at one time answerable for the value.

I scarcely think that the facts and traditions of the coinage of the ancients now before us can be explained otherwise, or at any rate more simply, than in the manner here attempted. Thus we get to understand the descent of the Lydian coinage, and at the same time its priority. For in opposition to the theory lately announced, that Phokæa was the place where money originated,²⁹ the argument may still be urged that the early circulation of the Phokaic stater is not a sufficient ground to invalidate such important testimony as that of Herodotus and Xenophanes; for how is it credible that the latter, an Eleatic philosopher and a profound inquirer in the territory of his native antiquities, would not have ascribed the

²⁹ Cf. Th. Mommsen in *Grenzboten*, 1863, p. 389. Brandis, *Münzwesen Vorderasiens*, p. 173.

honour of the invention to the Phokæans unless evidence of the priority of the Lydians had prevented him?

What we have discovered up to this point fits on, it seems to me, most naturally, to all the results of former inquiries. For would it not be a remarkable fact if the influence of the Babylonian religious worship which had extended to Europe had remained stationary just at the point to which Boeckh had traced it, and had been suddenly interrupted by an influence purely Hellenic and political; if, too, the guarantee of the metal-value had not come from the only authority appointed to undertake the same? But if our judgment is just concerning the importance of the great goddess in Sardes, then not only the introduction of the precious metals, and the organization of their proportionate value and weight, but also the issuing of them in the form of current coin, and their transfer from the exclusive use of the temples to that of municipal life, originated in this cultus, and, moreover, in an outpost of the same most advanced towards Ionia, and we have the advantage of thus obtaining a general and connected view of the different inventions relating to the conversion of metal into money, of comprehending the religious character of Greek coins, as well as their types borrowed from Oriental symbolism, and of being able to make use of the coins themselves as historical monuments, in a manner hitherto unknown. For they are now no longer simply monuments of the particular history and mikrokosmos of individual towns, but they are of service to us as we accompany the goddess, in connection with whose worship they were invented, upon her progress by land and sea, while they enable us to recognise her again under the most various names and forms, and, lastly, to understand the other deities which occur in her stead.



IX.

BRASS MEDALLION, REPRESENTING THE PERSIAN
VICTORY OF MAXIMIANUS GALERIUS.

BY THE REV. PADRE GARRUCCI: TRANSLATED AND COMMUNI-
CATED BY W. M. WYLIE, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

I HAVE no hesitation in saying that this medallion of Maximianus Galerius, recently found at Rimini, and of which I am now about to give an account, merits the first place among the historic medals of the empire.

Its value, besides the novelty of its subject, is still further increased by the most perfect state of preservation imaginable. Its subject matter is the victory gained by Maximianus, then Cæsar, over Narses, the Persian, of the which, and its attendant circumstances, we have historic notice. No monumental evidence of this, however, has been yet met with in the numerous coinage of the two Augusti Diocletian, and Maximianus Herculus;

or of the two Cæsars Constantius, and Galerius Maximianus, who all take the title of *Persicus* from this event.

This fine medal has, moreover, the special gift, as we shall presently see, of assisting us to ascertain the reason for their assuming the double appellation "*Persici bis*," both in the edict of the year 300, sculptured in stone, as well as in that of 311, referred to by Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. viii. 17), though historians and chronologists only speak of a single victory. Nor was there another war with the Persians for forty years, till the death of Constantine, who, in fact, died as he was making preparations to attack that nation.

True it is that Orosius tells us of two battles of Maximianus Galerius with the Persians before the year 297, in which the Fasti of Hydatius register the Persian victory,—" *Maximiano V. et Maximiano II. His consulibus, victi Persæ.*" But when he writes (Oros. vii. 25) "*cum duobus jam præliis adversus Narseum conflixisset,*" we know not which side had the advantage. We only learn that in the third encounter mentioned by this historian, Maximianus fled away entirely defeated and routed,—"*tertio inter Calinicum et Carras congressus et victus amissis copiis ad Diocletianum refugit.*" The fact of the victory afterwards being referred to 297 plainly shows that Maximianus could claim no other before that year. When the Alexandrine chronicler refers the two Persian victories to the year 297, we shall shortly see how this singular relation can and must be explained; strengthened and backed up, as it is, by the double Persian victory claimed by the Augusti. This chronicler, however, is so embarrassed with historic and other serious errors, that a notice from such a source would not deserve acceptance, unless we had other reasons to sustain it.

These circumstances being premised, by way of explaining the state of the historical question, I now proceed to describe this new medal. According to the scale of Mionnet, its diameter is No. 12. On one side is the bust of Maximianus Galerius, turned towards the right, with a laurel crown, tunic, and the embroidered *toga*, termed *trabea*, peculiar to the consuls, who assumed it on entering on office. In the hand is the ivory sceptre surmounted by an eagle, which was another of the consular insignia. Around is the legend, GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS NOB C.

On the reverse is the Cæsar, on horseback, galloping over two unarmed Persians beaten to the ground. He is brandishing his spear at a female, a youth, and a child, which form an unarmed group in front of the horse. The female and the youth are extending their hands to him, while the child turns towards the mother for help, without the power of saving itself by flight. All three figures have the Phrygian *pileus* on their heads, and the female, who is in a kneeling posture, has her hair dishevelled. A small figure of Victory, which hovers above, holds in the left hand a palm branch, and is in the act of crowning the Emperor. Around is the legend VICTORIA PERSICA.

This large medallion was struck at *Siscia*, SIS., and is the earliest example from that mint known to have been discovered in modern times, and the only one in bronze.

I come now to the subject figured on the reverse. The Emperor is represented in the act of having overthrown two Persians altogether unarmed, and assailing three more—a female, a youth, and a child,—while Victory is crowning him, and this is declared by the inscription, “Victory obtained over the Persians.” A grand enterprise

truly, this would have been if it were a question of assailing a few children, females, and unarmed men ! Or, must it be termed a serious mistake of the artist, who, having to represent a war scene, rendered it in a way so unusual, and contrary altogether to the artistic language of his period ?

In fact, if we inquire how, before him, the *Victoria Germanica* of Maximianus Augustus was rendered, we see the Emperor urging his fiery steed on the barbarians, one of whom is dashed on the ground, while the other, fallen on his knee, still attempts defence, and brandishes his spear. In the same way, the victory of Alexander Severus is represented by the Emperor urging his steed on a man armed with a shield. Nor could Eumenius, in his oration "*Pro restit. Scholis*," c. xxi., describe Maximian otherwise than in the act of trampling on the bows and quivers of the enemy. "*Persicos arcus pharetrasque calcantem*." At the same period also, Severus assumes the same type to represent military valour. He is brandishing his lance, and charging at full gallop on two barbarians, one of whom, covered with his shield, is returning his blows, while the other, brought on his knee, implores the mercy of the brave prince. The second Constantine, when he would represent his victory over the Goths, is seen attacking a barbarian armed with lance and shield, whom he has brought to the ground. Just so, too, are figured Constantius and Constans, whose coins are well known.

It might seem that these comparisons are opposed by a medal of Nepotianus, with the legend GLORIA ROMANORVM, in which he appears assailing a half-naked, kneeling, and suppliant female figure. But the opposition is not real, and resolves itself into a confirmation of the

interpretation which, I consider, may and ought to be given to our coin of Maximianus. I am aware that Du Cange, and Cohen after him, term the figure a prisoner, whom I call a woman; but I hold them to be wrong. It surely never was the manner of representing a prisoner to place him on his knees with hands uplifted—which is the gesture of a suppliant—but with his hands tied behind his back. Whether then this figure be that of a man, as rendered in the plate of Du Cange, or of a woman according to that of Cohen, and so far at variance with his account, it never can be a prisoner, as they would have it, nor even be meant to represent the discomfited hostile army. This coin was struck at Rome, and we know that Nepotianus was received there when it appeared that the city was about to prepare for defence on hearing of the defeat of the army which had hastily opposed his march. There is, therefore, no difficulty in the way of his thus representing his triumphal entry, and Rome in the act of begging for assistance and pardon.

We come now to the Persian victory.

The scorn with which Maximian was received by Diocletian after his rout and defeat, as related by the historians, did not lower his courage, but on the contrary stimulated him to very daring enterprise. He raised a fresh army in Illyria, entered Armenia the following year, defeated Narses, and put him to flight. But what most tended to exalt the pride of Maximian was the enormous booty taken in the enemy's camp, and also, with it, the wife and children of Narses. In consequence he began to scorn the title of Cæsar, and to aspire to that of Augustus. (*Lactantius de Mort. Persecut. in Maximiano.*) Peace was concluded the same year at the cost of five provinces ceded by the Persian, whose family was restored to him.

This remarkable victory afterwards afforded a triumph to the two Augusti, and the two Cæsars, in which their chariot was preceded by waggons laden with spoil, together with effigies of the wife, children, and sisters of Narses, as we learn from these words of the Chronicon of S. Prosper (ad. ann. 302):—" *Diocletianus, et Maximianus Augusti ingenti pompa Romæ triumpharunt, antecedentibus currum eorum Narsei conjuge, sororibus, liberis, et omni prædâ quâ Parthos spoliaverunt.*" It is known that the Persians were often called Parthians before this date, as Eckhel has observed (D. No. vii. 509). Thus was consecrated by the Augusti, and their two Cæsars, the twofold title of *Persicus*, which had already been assumed, as appears from the edict, "*De pretiis rerum venalium*," passed in 300 and 301. I also suspect that on this occasion were instituted, in honour of this victory, those *Ludi Persici*, of which there is mention in the Kalendar of Philocalus. Such an institution can scarcely, with any probability, be attributed to Constantius II., as Mommsen has done (I. L. Ant. p. 393), there being no record that Constantius ever triumphed over Sapor, willing as he was to consider repeated defeat as victory.

As to the double appellation of *Persici*, I know that, at this epoch, titles did not possess their former value, as Eckhel has remarked (l. c. p. 352), nor is it matter for surprise if we find one Persian victory turned into two. Yet I scarcely think such an explanation should be given, although it may really be the most convenient way of getting over the difficulty. It would rather seem to me that it was done with a more legitimate motive, viz., that the capture of the camp and family of Narses was a total rout, and might therefore be reckoned as a second victory. Here, as I think, we have the true reason of the device on

this medal of Maximian. For it is certain, as I said before, that if it had been proposed to represent the rout and flight of the enemy and King Narses, the artist would have been aware of the proper mode of figuring such a subject. Instead of this, by suppressing all notion of arms, with the two Persians on the ground, and placing before the Imperial steed three unarmed figures—a woman, a child, and a youth,—it was certainly intended to represent not the battle, and the rout of Narses, but the surprise of his family in the camp, which certainly was the most valuable portion of the rich booty found there.

I therefore come to the conclusion that this medal of Maximian was struck in 297, the year of his second consulship. This date is supported by the *Fasti* of Hydatius, and the Alexandrine chronicler, and, though contradicted by other historians, is strengthened by the consular insignia with which he is invested on the obverse.

Also that the subject, chosen to set forth the Persian victory, was not the rout and flight of Narses, but the capture of his camp and family, which was the most probable origin of the double appellation of the two Augusti and Cæsars, combined in the tribunitial power, about the time when they determined on a solemn triumph in Rome by reason of an enterprise of such importance.

R. GARRUCCI.

X.

MEDALLIONS OF FAUSTINA SENIOR AND COMMODUS.

Obv.—DIVA AVG FAVSTINA. Bust right, veiled, and draped.

Rev.—Jupiter seated left, draped in short chiton, partly exposing his shoulder, holding thunderbolt; in front of him Pallas, wearing peplos, talaric chiton, and ægis; behind her, shield and serpent; between the two deities, a modius on a tripod.

PALLAS, who seems to have been considered, both by the Greeks and Romans, as an especially favoured goddess, is sometimes represented on works of art accompanied by the serpent. The description given by Pausanias of the large statue of Pallas Athênê standing in the Parthenon, makes mention of the serpent lying at her feet; and a small but interesting intaglio in the Blacas collection represents Pallas disputing with Poseidon as to the future name of Athens, Pallas being accompanied by the serpent, who is winding round her shield in the same manner as is shown on this medallion. A serpent is frequently seen on ancient works of art accompanying Pallas, who is moving swiftly onwards, and this is supposed to be Erichthonios, the King of Athens, who first introduced the worship of Pallas, instituting the feast of the Panathenæa, and building her a temple on the Akropolis. An ancient

tradition describes Erichthonios as the son of Attic Hephaestos and Pallas; relating further, that Gaia received the seed from which Erichthonios sprang. Pallas shut him up in a coffer, which she gave to the three daughters of Cecrops—Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos—to keep, with strict injunctions not to undo the lid; but curiosity getting the better of the first two, they looked into the box, and, seeing the serpent, were seized with madness. Pallas took the child to her own temple, which was afterwards known as the Erichtheum.

The learned Dr. Preller, in his "*Griechische Mythologie*," says, "In the Attic worship of Hephaestos he appears in close connection with Athena; in the tradition of the birth of Erichthonios as her discarded lover; in the Cultus he is connected with her in his artistic capacity." A fine specimen of Greek pottery in the British Museum represents the birth of Erichthonios; Gaia, issuing from the ground as far as her waist, presents the new-born child to Pallas Athênê, who stands by with outstretched arms to receive it in an embroidered napkin. From behind Pallas, Nikê advances, holding out in both hands a scarf; behind Gaia stand, as spectators of the scene, Zeus, with thunderbolts in his left hand, and behind him a female figure—perhaps Aphroditê—looking on, with her left hand resting on his shoulder.

M. Beulé, in his learned work, "*Les Monnaies d'Athènes*," gives an interesting description, which will be found on p. 171, of a coin of Athens, representing Pallas hurrying forward, accompanied by two serpents. Müller, "*Archäologie der Kunst*," mentions several works of art treating of the various symbols of Pallas. Virgil also points out, in his description of the death

of Laokoon, the favour that this goddess showed to the serpents who took refuge at her feet :—

“ At gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones
Effugiunt, sævæque petunt Tritonidis arcem :
Sub pedibusque deæ, clypeique sub orbe teguntur.”

Minerva, in her character of Athênê Polias, is found accompanied by the serpent—also as Minerva Medica. This medallion is a very fine specimen of the art at the time of Antoninus Pius—a period recalling the fine work of the time of Hadrian, when Greek art must have left more traces of its influence than at this later period of Roman history.

The second medallion which I have the honour of exhibiting before the Society to-night, relates to the endeavour of Commodus to prove himself equal to Hercules.

Obv.—M. COMMODVS. ANT. AVG. PIVS. BRIT. Bust right, laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—P.M. T.R.P.X. IMP. VII. COS. IIII. PP. Nude figure of Commodus as Hercules, front, laureate, raising his right hand to his head, holding club with left; from his left arm depends the lion's skin; on a tree in front hangs a bow and quiver of arrows; in front, left, a lighted altar adorned with festoons of flowers.

Commodus, son of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Junior, was born A.D. 161, and was saluted as Emperor, A.D. 176, having first had the title Sarmaticus added to that of Princeps Juventutis, on his accompanying his father to the East. Commodus, after the death of M. Aurelius in 180, began a reign which encouraged most of

the people to believe that a Roman emperor, worthy of that name, had been added to the list, and that the son was about to prove that the influence of M. Aurelius had been beneficial as an example to his successor. Lampridius, who writes with a facility that reminds the reader of the style of Suetonius, informs us that a plot against the life of Commodus was organized (A.D. 181) by Lucilla, his sister, aided by her kinsman, Quadratus, the execution of which was entrusted to Claudius Pompeianus—also a relation—whose courage, however, failed him at the last; drawing his sword, he exclaimed, “Hunc tibi pugionem senatus mittit,” discovering the crime without attempting to accomplish it. Commodus showed his resentment by treating with severity, and with that cruelty which displayed itself more prominently later in life, those whom he suspected to have been in any way engaged in the conspiracy against him. The list of his victims will be found in Lampridius, “Commodi Antonini Vita.” During his reign he decreed that the months should be known only by such titles as he himself had assumed—viz., Amazonius, Invictus, Felix, Pius, Lucius, Ælius, Aurelius, Commodus, Augustus, Hercules, Romanus, Exsuperatorius—and also ordered that his reign should be known as Sæculum Aureum Commodianum, the nation as Commodiana, the army as Commodiani, the senate as Commodianus. His insane pride carried him to such a degree that he ordered the people to worship him as Hercules. He went about decked in a lion’s hide, carrying the club, and, in imitation of the deeds of Hercules, he enclosed in wicker cages, terminating in serpents’ tails, a number of unfortunate wretches, then slaughtered them with his club. Commodus assumed the title Britannicus on being saluted

Imperator for the seventh time, when Ulpius Marcellus drove back the Britons, who had forced a passage across the wall of Antoninus, defeating the Roman army sent against them. This medallion is interesting as agreeing with the date of this event (A.D. 184).

I have to add the description of four medallions of Commodus; formerly the property of the late Duc de Blacas, and lately purchased by the trustees of the British Museum; forming an interesting chronological series :—

Obv.—IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. COMMODVS GERM. SARM. Bust to right, laureated, wearing ægis.

Rev.—TR. POT. COS. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in a quadriga, to left; over them hovers Victory; in front is a soldier.

Commodus received the tribunician power between the close of A.D. 176 and the beginning of A.D. 177. (Clinton, *Fasti Romani*.)

Obv.—M. AVREL. COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG. Bust to right, laureated, bearded, wearing cuirass and humeralia.

Rev.—T.R.P. VIII. IMP. V. COS. IIII. P.P. Victory draped, presenting wreath to Commodus, who stands to right, bare headed, in military attire, wearing parazonium, and leaning on hasta. (A.D. 183.)

In describing the obverse of this coin I have specially mentioned the humeralia, which were worn under the cuirass as a protection for the shoulders, and which are seldom noticed in describing military attire :—

Obv.—M. AVREL. COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. Bust to right, laureated, bearded, wearing cuirass, humeralia, paludamentum broached on shoulder.

Rev.—P.M. T.R.P. VIII. IMP. VI. COS. III. P.P. (Legend in *exergue*.) Jupiter diademed and semi-draped, seated on left, holding thunderbolt, and presenting orb to Commodus, who stands in front of him, wearing talarie chiton. (A.D. 184.)

Obv.—M. COMMODVS ANTONINVS PIVS FELIX AVG. BRIT. Bust on left, bearded, laureated, wearing lion's skin, and holding spear.

Rev.—P.M. T.R.P.XI. In *exergue*, COS. V. P.P. Commodus in quadriga, right, holding sceptre surmounted by eagle. (A.D. 186.)

*

S. F. CORKRAN.

XI.

NOTE ON A HOARD OF COINS FOUND ON PITSTONE COMMON, NEAR TRING, 1870.

IN the spring of the present year some workmen forming a road a few hundred yards to the south of Moneybury Hill, and close by the column erected in honour of the great Duke of Bridgewater, came upon a number of coins, some articles of metal, animal remains, and broken pottery of Roman date, which have been kindly submitted to me for examination by Earl Brownlow, on whose estate they were found. The coins, of which a detailed list is appended, are 116 in number, and range over a considerable period of time, the earliest dating back to the first half of the first century, while the latest come down to about A.D. 270. A halfpenny of William and Mary, the presence of which among the other coins must of course be accidental, is not included in the number above stated.

Of the Roman coins it seems not improbable that there may have been two distinct hoards, the one consisting of the so-called large and middle brass coins, the latest of which may date about A.D. 249, and the other of the small brass coins which belong in part to the period of "the Thirty Tyrants," and range down to about A.D. 270. Among these latter there are no coins of any special

interest. Of the others the bulk are much worn by circulation, and are, for the most part, of ordinary types.

There are, however, among them one or two rare coins, of which one, in fair condition, presents a new type of Lucius Verus. There are coins known of this emperor with a similar device and an almost similar legend on the reverse, but struck during a different consulate, and probably relating to a different expedition. These coins have the legend PROPECTIO AVG, and the second and third years of the Tribunician Power and the second consulate of the emperor, and probably refer to the expedition against the Parthians in A.D. 163. The coin now brought to light bears the third consulate, and cannot be earlier than A.D. 167, so that the expedition referred to is probably one of those against the Germans, though, as these were undertaken jointly by Aurelius and Verus, it seems strange that only one emperor should be represented on the reverse.

A curious feature in this hoard is the large proportion of ancient forgeries it contains in the shape of coins cast from genuine originals. Though they were all probably cast at about the same time, the models range from Vespasian to Otacilia Severa, or over a period of about 180 years. Some of them have been moulded from well-preserved originals, but others from coins much worn by circulation. Among them are reproductions of one or two rare types, and of the interesting coin of Antoninus Pius, with the seated figure of Britannia on the reverse. I have known a few instances of cast coins of this character occurring on sites of Roman occupation, such as Verulam and Richborough.

Besides the Roman coins there is one of considerable interest, as representing our native coinage previous to

the occupation of Britain by the conquerors of the world. It is of Cunobeline—the Cymbeline of Shakspeare—and though in poor preservation, the name of his father, Tasciovanus, is still legible in the TASCIO on the reverse. A copper coin of Cunobeline of another type was found some years ago at Berkhamsted.¹

The other objects found at the same time consist of some small fragments of a thin brass plate, the half of a plain brass ring, a penannular ring of silver wire slightly tapering towards each end, and possibly an earring, and two fibulæ or brooches. Of these one with its front plate in the form of a leaf still retains its pin. It is of brass, but has been originally tinned, so that the greater part of its surface has remained bright and uncorroded. The form is rare and more graceful than usual with bow-shaped fibulæ.

The other brooch is of circular form, about an inch and a quarter in diameter, with a central ornament of glass, rather more than half an inch in diameter. There is a raised rib round the margin of the brooch, and another midway between that and the central socket for the glass. The flat spaces between the ribs are ornamented with indented patterns, formed by means of an S-shaped punch. The glass is of a dark bottle-green, almost opaque. The part beyond the setting forms a low truncated cone, on the flat face of which has been deeply moulded the form of a bird; but, owing to the part on which was the head having been broken off and lost, it is difficult to say whether it may have been an eagle or a dove. The part which is now hollow was probably at one time filled in with white glass or enamel, which has

¹ Num. Chron. II. 192.

since decomposed and disappeared. A similar process is in use at the present day for the manufacture of glass buttons and studs, but I do not remember to have seen an example of Roman age. The two brooches may indeed be regarded as the most curious objects in the find, with the exception perhaps of the coin of Lucius Verus.

JOHN EVANS.

COINS FOUND NEAR MONEYBURY HILL, PITSTONE
COMMON, ON THE ESTATE OF EARL BROWN-
LOW. 1870.

ANCIENT BRITISH.

CUNOBELINUS.

Obv.—CVN(OBELIN). Head of Medusa to the left.

Rev.—TASCIO. Seated figure with a hammer in the right hand at work on a vase
(Evans, pl. xii. 6). Æ 1 1

ROMAN.

CLAUDIUS ?

Æ 2 1 1

VESPASIAN.

Rev.—VESTA (Cohen, No. 216). Æ 1
Illegible. Æ 2 4
— 5

DOMITIAN.

Illegible. Æ 2 2 2

NERVA.

Obv.—IMP. NERVA CAES. TRAIAN . . .

Rev.— COS II. In exergue S.C. Seated figure holding a hasta in the right hand, and leaning the left arm on a cornucopia (not in Cohen). Æ 2 1 1

TRAJAN.

Illegible. Æ 2	4	4
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HADRIAN.

Illegible. Æ 1	1	
Ditto. Æ 2	2	
COS. III. S.C. (Cohen, No. 729) Æ 2	1	
	—	4

ANTONINUS PIUS.

Illegible. Æ 1	2	
GENIVS POP. ROMANI S.C. (Cohen, No. 607)		
Æ 2	1	
Illegible. Æ 2	3	
	—	6

FAUSTINA THE ELDER.

AVGVSTA S.C. (Cohen, No. 203) Æ 1	1	
AVGV(STA) S.C. Æ 2	1	
Illegible. Æ 2	1	
	—	3

MARCUS AURELIUS.

TR. POT. XX. IMP. III. COS. III. S.C.		
(Cohen, No. 725.) Æ 1	1	
TR. P. XVIII. (Cohen, No. 748.) Æ 1	1	
(FELICI)TAS AVG. IMP. X. COS. III. (P.P.)		
S.C. (Cohen, No. 470.) Æ 1	1	
Illegible. Æ 1	3	
S.C. Pallas (Cohen, No. 635). Æ 2	1	
IMP. VI. COS. III. S.C. Victory inscribing on		
a shield VIC. GER. (Cohen, No. 526.)		
Æ 2	1	
Illegible. Æ 2	2	
	—	10

FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER.

IVNO(NI) REGINAE (Cohen, No. 184). Æ 1	1	
FEQVNDITAS S.C. (Cohen, No. 164). Æ 1	1	
Ditto ditto (Cohen, No. 165). Æ 2	1	
S.C. Diana (Cohen, No. 210). Æ 2	1	
Illegible. Æ 2	4	
	—	8

LUCIUS VERUS.

Obv.—L. AVREL. VERVS AVG. ARME-
NIACVS. Laureate bust to right.

Rev.—PROFECT. AVG. S.C. (in exergue) COS.

III. above the Emperor in military costume on horseback to right. In front, a soldier looking towards him, with helmet, spear, and shield; behind, two others. Unpublished. Æ 1 . . . 1 1

LUCILLA.

Illegible. Æ 1 1 1

COMMODUS.

FOR. RED in exergue. Legend gone. Æ 1 . . 1

Illegible. Æ 1 4
— 5

CRISPINA.

Illegible. Æ 2 1 1

SEVERUS.

FVNDATOR PACIS (Cohen, No. 121). Æ . . 1 1

JULIA DOMNA.

VENERI GENETRICI S.C. ? (Cohen, No. 190).

Æ 1 1 1

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

PROVIDENTIA AVG. S.C. (Cohen, No. 429).

Æ 2 1

Illegible. Æ 2 1
— 2

GORDIAN III.

IOVI STATORI S.C. (Cohen, No. 241). Æ 2 1

(P. M. TR. P)IIII. COS. II. P.P. S.C. (Cohen, No. 294). Æ 2 1

Illegible. Æ 2 1
— 3

PHILIP I.

AEQVITAS AVGG. S.C. (Cohen, No. 126).

Æ 2 1 1

GALLIENUS.

DIANAE CONS. AVG. (Cohen, No. 105 ?).

Æ 3 1

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

IOVI VICTORI. In field N (Cohen, No. 101).

Æ 3 1

VICTORIA AVG. In exergue S (Cohen, No.

213). Æ 3 1

CONSECRATIO (Cohen, No. 49 ?) Æ 3 . . . 1

— 3

QUINTILLUS.

Illegible. Æ 3 1 1

TETRICUS I.

Illegible. Æ 3 1 1

TETRICUS II.

(L)Æ(TITIA AVG. N) ? (Cohen, No. 17 ?).

Æ 3 1

SPES (AVGG) (Cohen, No. 47) Æ 3 . . . 1

— 2

UNCERTAIN.

Æ 2 17

Æ 3 2

— 19

— 88

CAST COINS, OR ANCIENT FORGERIES.

VESPASIAN.

Illegible. Æ 2 1 1

DOMITIAN.

Illegible. Æ 2 1 1

ANTONINUS PIUS.

ANNOA AVG. S.C. (Cohen, No. 472). Æ 2 1

BRITANNIA COS. IIII. S.C. (Cohen, No. 497).

Æ 2 1

VICTORIA AVG. S.C. (Cohen, No. 966). Æ 2 1

Illegible. Æ 2 1

— 4

MARCUS AURELIUS.

TR. POT. VIII. COS. II. S.C. (Cohen, No. 671).

Æ 2 1

TR. P Victory inscribing VIC. PAR.

on a buckler (Cohen, No. 729). Æ 2 1

Illegible 2

— 1

FAUSTINA JUNIOR.

IVNONI REGINAE (Cohen, No. 185).	Æ 2	1	
Illegible.	Æ 2	3	
		—	4

VERUS.

Illegible.	Æ 2	1	1
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COMMODUS.

P. M. TR. P. XI. IMP. VII. COS. V. P.P.			
S.C. FORT. RED. in exergue (Cohen,			
No. 526).	Æ 2	1	1

JULIA MAMÆA.

VESTA. S.C.	Æ 2	1	1
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MAXIMINUS.

FIDES MILITVM S.C. (Cohen, No. 49).	Æ 2	1	1
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MAXIMUS.

PIETAS AVG. S.C. (Cohen, No. 9).	Æ 2	1	1
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GORDIAN III.

LAETITIA AVG. N. S.C. (Cohen, No. 243).			
Æ 2		2	
VIRTVTI AVGVSTI S.C. (Cohen, No. 344).			
Æ 2		2	
		—	4

OTACILIA SEVERA.

CONCORDIA AVGG. S.C. (Cohen, No. 41).			
Æ 2		1	1

UNCERTAIN.

Æ 2		4	4
		—	116



XII.

ON A SMALL SILVER COIN OF SELEUCUS I.— NICATOR.

It is now nearly twenty years since I read a paper on a small collection of coins, chiefly Greek, which had been forwarded to me from Baghdad by Major-General Sir H. C. Rawlinson (then Major Rawlinson ¹), and that, among these, I described a tetradrachm of Seleucus Nicator, of great rarity, though not unique. I have now the pleasure of giving a brief notice of a small coin of the same monarch, not indeed so well preserved as the tetradrachm, but still sufficiently distinct for all the principal details on it to be readily recognised. It is, moreover, so far as I can ascertain, unique. It may be described as follows :—

Obv.—Portrait of Seleucus to the right in the character of Hercules; the head, however, not as usual inserted in the open jaws of a lion, but covered with a helmet bearing a cheek-piece, both of which are apparently formed of the skin of the head of a bull, the ear and side horn of which are clearly visible on the right, while a

¹ Num. Chron., xiii., p. 70, 1850.

portion of the horn is visible on the left. In front of the helmet is a highly raised vizor, and the cheek-pieces are peculiar in form. Under the neck may be seen the paws of a lion fastened in a knot after the usual fashion of the Herculean types, of which the tetradrachms of Alexander the Great are the most common and best known examples.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ.—Victory, winged and draped, standing to the right, before a trophy she is crowning with a wreath. The trophy consists of a helmet with cheek-pieces, a cuirass, and a round buckler, a central boss in the form of a star, all suspended, as usual, from the trunk of a tree. Between the victory and the trophy are the letters ΑΧ, and, in the field, to left, is Η. S. 55 in. ; wt. 25.3 grs.

There is some difficulty as to the material which the helmet and cheek-pieces represent; and it has been suggested by a numismatist of experience that the hide is that of a horse, an idea in some degree confirmed by the form of the ear, which is equine rather than bovine. It is also certain that the head bears a great resemblance to, indeed is almost identical with, that of Alexander the Great, on the coins of Lysimachus. If this be so, the horse's hide probably has reference to that of the celebrated Bucephalus. It should be observed, however, that the artistic treatment of the hide on the helmet, on the cheek-pieces, and on the lion's forearm are the same, the artist having evidently supposed he was drawing the same material.

As will be perceived, this small coin is all but identical with the tetradrachm, the differences being scarcely more than this, that the artist has been compelled, owing to the smallness of his die, to omit some details, which are more visible on the larger specimen: I may add,

however, that it is not quite certain *what* ancient coin this small piece represents—I mean what *name* ought to be given to it; and this chiefly, because there is no other coin of Seleucus—at least, in the collection of the British Museum—of which it can be considered to be a submultiple. To show this, my friend, Mr. Head, has been so good as to weigh carefully each well-marked variety, and the following enumeration of the weights he has obtained show all that can at present be said on this subject with anything like certainty.

1. *Tetradrachms*. 265, 260 grains.
2. *Drachms*. 64.5, 64, 63.5, 52, 51.5 grains, clearly showing that there must have been at least two distinct issues of these coins.
3. Smaller coins—to which, for the present, I do not propose to give any names—46.4, 25.3, 22.5.

Now, on looking at the coins of Seleucus, it will, we think, be obvious to every one that there are certainly five distinct periods during which they must have been struck—periods well defined by the character and art of the coin itself. The first of these comprehend those tetradrachms, which have for their unvarying type the head of Hercules on the obverse, with the lion's head, skin, and paws; and on the reverse Jupiter seated—coins differing from those of Alexander the Great by little more than the substitution of the name of Seleucus for that of Alexander; the second, the tetradrachms and smaller coins of the type we are now considering; the third and fourth, two issues of drachms; and the fifth, an issue of smaller coins. The first class, which may be said to be supplemented by his gold staters, are, in like manner, identical with the gold staters of Alexander the Great, and belong, I have not the slightest doubt, to the earliest period of his reign, when, immediately

after the death of Alexander the Great, in B.C. 323, Seleucus, on the division of the empire among the generals of the deceased monarch, obtained for his share the government of Babylon, and, gradually, the whole of the Eastern Empire, which Alexander had more or less established from the Euphrates to the Five Rivers of Western India. It was natural that his first coinage should resemble closely that of his beloved master and friend; moreover, he may have thought that the valiant troops who had won for Alexander such renown would, not unnaturally, be pleased to have the same types preserved on the money of Seleucus which had been circulated by their prowess farther and wider than had any Grecian coin in previous historical æra.

It is not unlikely, too, that Seleucus may have foreseen the necessity of a well-known and easily recognised type for the coinage of his vast empire, and that thus his money may have become the medium of exchange much as has happened, notoriously, in some recent cases. As in China, for example, where, till lately, nothing but the Spanish pillar dollar was accepted as genuine money, and in Abyssinia, for which, only two years ago, some millions of dollars of Maria Theresa of Austria, with the date 1780, had to be coined at Trieste for the use of the English army, as the natives of Abyssinia would accept no other coin in pay for provisions; so, it may have been so long ago as the times of Seleucus. The world knew the coin of Alexander, and were, therefore, ready to accept what so nearly resembled it.

The second class contains certain tetradrachms and smaller coins, on the obverse of which is the head of Jupiter, with a single elephant or a chariot (quadriga) drawn by four elephants on the reverse. These I am

inclined to attribute to a period eleven years later, when, after the fatal battle of Ipsus, which saw the last glories of the great Antigonus, the power of Seleucus became so pre-eminent as for him to create the new era, known as that of the Seleucidæ, which dates from that battle, viz., B.C. 312. Among the later classes I should comprehend the tetradrachm and some small coins including that with the type of the one I am now describing which are probably not long after the battle of Ipsus, and, from their type of a Victory erecting a trophy, have some reference to it. Of course I cannot now speak positively on this subject, as there were many other great battles in which Seleucus played a leading part; as, for instance, the overthrow of Eumenes and of Antipater, the conflict with Ptolemy, and the crushing defeat of Lysimachus.

It is remarkable that this type of the Victory crowning a trophy is found identically in character and workmanship on the Sicilian coins of Agathocles; indeed, the resemblance between them is so great as to suggest the idea that the Sicilian type, which is from forty to fifty years later, may have been suggested by the former. Nor is this suggestion so wild as might at first be thought. The victories of Seleucus must have had a world-wide reputation, second only to those of Alexander himself; and there must have been always an extensive commerce and connection between the coasts of Syria and of Asia Minor and the "Isles of the West;" hence, the appropriateness of the type of Victory on the coins of Seleucus may have been recognised by Agathocles. The elephant type has direct reference to the conquests of Seleucus—the first Greek ruler who acquired any real knowledge of the far East, and whose famous embassy

to an Indian prince, whom Megasthenes, in his "Indica," calls Sandrocottus—was generally doubted, till, three quarters of a century since, the labours of Halhed, Wilkins, and Sir William Jones made known to wondering Europe the long-forgotten sacred language of India; and thereby proved that Chandra Gupta, the king of the country round the present town of Patna, is almost certainly the chief whose name has been Græcized into Sandrocottus. Of the descendants of this prince, who bore the same name, we have abundant specimens in the Museum collection.

The tracing out the connections of such names as these are among the happiest results of modern philological research, and show how much the educated Greek of old has lost by declining to recognise any other tongue but his own as worthy of study. Had he but done this he must soon have found that Greek and Sanskrit were but daughters of one earlier form of speech—no inconsiderable number of the commonest words in Greek being representable, letter for letter, by what must have been the spoken dialect of the court of Chandra Gupta. History has recorded as a wonderful fact that Themistocles learnt Persian so as to speak it fluently in a single year; but he did so, doubtless, from a natural facility for the acquisition of language, and by remarking, as he could hardly have failed to remark, that Greek and Persian, as Scaliger detected three centuries ago, have the same real connection which recent researches have shown to exist between Greek and Sanskrit.

W. S. W. VAUX.

XIII.

INDO-PARTHIAN COINS.

Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

SOME months ago M. Wold. Tiesenhausen, Secrétaire de la Commission Archéologique de St. Pétersbourg, consulted me as to the attribution of a class of coins, representatives of which had newly been brought to light by the discovery, in the Government of Perm, of a small bronze vase containing four pieces of the type in question.¹ M. Tiesenhausen forwarded at the same time impressions in tin-foil and rubbings on paper, taken

¹ As M. Tiesenhausen's letter refers to other finds, and criticises their associations, I reproduce the document entire:—

“Veuillez bien m'excuser que je prends la liberté de vous incommoder en soumettant à votre jugement une petite question en fait de numismatique. Voici de quoi il s'agit.

“Il y a quelques semaines qu'en Russie (au gouvernement de Perm) a été découvert un petit vase en bronze renfermant quatre monnaies en argent, dont j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer les empreintes ci-jointes.

“A juger d'après le type de ces monnaies je serais tenté de les attribuer à quelque roi indo-scythe, mais cette supposition me semble être revoquée en doute par une autre trouvaille (faite en 1851 dans la même contrée) qui outre une monnaie du même genre contenait quelques monnaies sassanides (du VI^e siècle) et des monnaies byzantines d'Héraclius et de son fils Constantin. Puis les lettres qu'on voit sur ces monnaies diffèrent de celles qui se trouvent sur les monnaies indo-scythes.

directly from the originals; but as these species of facsimile necessarily suffer from transmission by post, they furnished very unsatisfactory means of tracing the course of the singular and imperfectly-outlined marginal legends, which, in effect, constituted the real enigma to be solved. I therefore applied to my correspondent for more complete copies in less perishable materials, in the form of sealing-wax impressions or electrotypes. To my surprise, in reply I received the three accompanying excellent woodcuts, executed in the Russian Capital, together with engravings of two additional medals of cognate stamp, which, with considerable Numismatic acumen, had been traced in other accessible collections.

These coins are of considerable typical interest, and open out an entirely new field of historical research; but I must confess that my success in their decipherment has not been commensurate with my own wishes, or the too sanguine hopes of my Russian coadjutor. Nevertheless, I do not hesitate to publish what little I have been able to read, and to follow out more largely the associations involved in the die-devices, in the desire of drawing attention to the special subject, and inviting a search for similar specimens in other public and private cabinets,² as

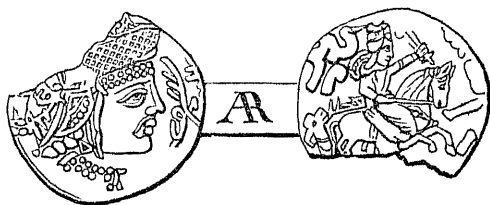
“Plus versé que moi dans cette sorte d'études je ne mets pas en doute que vous ne réussiez à résoudre la question.

“Agréez, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être”——

² Since these illustrative engravings have reached me, a coin similar in general character to Nos. 2, 3, 4 has been discovered in the choice collection of Gen. Abbott, formed in the Hazara country of the Punjáb, and which has lately been added to the Numismatic Treasures of the India Office. The piece in question, though it contributes nothing to our knowledge in the matter of types and legends, gives us very significant hints in the direction of the metal, which, in the greasy alloy, seems to fall in with the ideas of Arachotian and other Nickel-using sites. See Apollonius of Tyana, quoted in Jour. Roy. As. Soc., xvii.

it is well known that a single letter, on many a defaced piece, will often give the clue to a comparatively complete sentence still wanting in the touch of vitality. While in the stage of preliminary confession, I must moreover frankly premise, that, although in this case almost every typical coincidence points to a near association with the Parthians in Bactria, or more directly southern and western localities, and the leading geographical evidence lends itself to a similar conclusion, yet the authoritative resolution of the ornamental scroll over the horse's loins (in No. 1) into the Kufic word **فصل**, would fatally demonstrate that the epoch now suggested must be extensively reduced in point of time. The unknown letters on the margin, at the foot of coins Nos. 2, 3, 4, have, moreover, a suspiciously current or cursive appearance, and certainly do not accord with the stiff and formal outlines of the freely legible *Mulka*, in the opening letters of the variety of Syriac here employed. We have too many striking instances, in the series of Indian and quasi Indian Coinages, of the indigenous faculty of imitation, and delight in the reproduction of fixed and accepted designs, at times persevered in mechanically till all trace of the original seems to fade before the eye; so that typical resemblances and even close and seemingly immediate copies cannot be taken to prove what they certainly would demonstrate under other and less exceptional circumstances; and we may yet have to surrender the choicest of our specimens, in this limited list, to stand as a monument of Bahrám Gor's visit to India, or as a symbol of Muhammad bin Kásim's first intrusion on the Lower Indus.

pp. 72, 77; Strabo, xv. c. i. § 34?; Pliny, N. H. 34, 2, and 37, 42; and in these days, Gen. A. Cunningham, Num. Chron., N.S., viii. p. 279, &c.; with Dr. W. Flight, *ibid.*, p. 305.

No. 1. Silver. Musée Asiatique, St. Petersbourg.

There is little or no trace of Parthianism in these devices, except in the peculiar tooling of the neck ornament.³ The obverse head would almost seem to represent a young Indian-born Greek, who was so far reconciled to local customs as to wear the moustache, and to recognise the advantage of a turband. The eagle crowning the rider on the reverse may, perchance, further imply a newly erected kingdom.

The free action of the horse recalls the attitude of the front charger of the Dioscuri of Eucratides, or the single horseman of the Bactrian Philoxenes;⁴ but here the huntsman supplants the warrior, and the seat and saddle, and even the horse itself, if truly designed, are Indian rather than Greek. The dog (if such it be)⁵ is also an

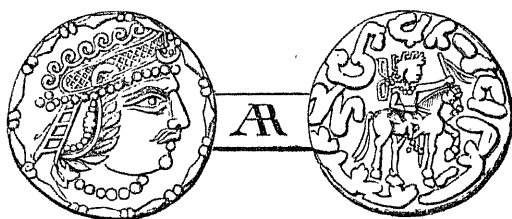
³ The letters on the Parthian coins are what we should call nail-headed (not arrow-headed), *i.e.* the characters, instead of being cut out and sunk on the die in continuous lines, are produced by a series of holes drilled in consecutive order upon the main outline of the letter. On the coin itself these stand up like the brass nail-heads on a well-made chair. A similar system of dotting the leading outlines of the characters was in favour among the Indo-Scythians in Bactria. An authoritative ink-tracing could be followed mechanically by this means with great exactness, where a free engraving might, under the circumstances, have simply proved impracticable.

⁴ *Journal des Savants*, 1836, pl. ii. 5; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. ii. 17; Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. p. 187, pl. xv. fig. 1.

⁵ It may possibly be the foal following the mare.

innovation upon ordinary medalliac devices. The use of the adjunct of the eagle placing a chaplet on the king's brow was seemingly derived, in the first instance, by the Parthians from Roman teachings; it appears on the coins of Phraates IV. and Tiridates II. (B.C. 37),⁶ but soon gives way to the more natural winged figure of victory. The legend on the obverse I am as yet unable to decipher, but I must add, that I have neither seen this particular coin, nor even obtained rubbings or impressions of it. The curious ornamental scroll over the crupper of the horse has been read in St. Petersburg as the Arabic term فضل "excellence, wisdom:" but although such an interpretation might be put upon the letters as they appear in the woodcut, I should not, as at present advised, be disposed to concur in such rendering, though I must confess that the word in front of the king's profile looks more like cursive and comparatively modern Sassanian Pehlvi than any other scheme of writing with which I am acquainted.

No. 2. Silver. Cabinet of Comte Stroganoff.



This coin and the two succeeding specimens present us with more distinct Parthian peculiarities. The head-

⁶ Longpérier, pl. ix. 8, 9; x. 5, 6, 7; Lindsay, pl. iii. 55, 56, 57.

dress on the obverse would, at first sight, appear to have nothing in common with the ordinary upright Tiara helmet⁷ of the Imperial dynasty; but although the local turband is retained in a somewhat reduced and modified shape, the ornamentation at the top, so seemingly exceptional, can be readily traced to an association with the crest pattern introduced by Phraates II. (B.C. 136—126), and maintained in occasional use by Sanatruces⁸ (B.C. 77—70), finding favour among the local kings of Edessa,⁹ and appearing in a less formal design on the Eastern Parthian coins of Sanabares¹⁰ (A.D. 2). The horseman on the reverse is a close copy (even to the details of the double-thonged whip and occasional hooked *ankus*) of the charger, which continued to furnish the standard device of so many monarchs of the Parthian race in Bactria, Gondophares, Abdagazes, Arsaces, &c., whose dates are roughly assumed at from about B.C. 26 to

⁷ This seemingly top-heavy head-piece owes all its misrepresentation to the profile treatment—conventional with the Parthians and Sassanians. When brought to the test of modern helmets, but little exception need be taken to its form or balance; it follows in its construction the far more ancient pattern of the Assyrian kings; and the curious in these matters can examine both the prototype and the modified adaptation in extant specimens in the British Museum. The earlier casque is close and compact, sitting well on the skull, while the Parthian pattern, though raised enough in its side-glint to awe the Romans, was really a better protection against a direct blow than the previous model, and far more effective under the military aspect. The specimen in the British Museum is little more than a well-made steel morion, without the flaps, fully realising the definition of the surface of polished Margian steel (Plutarch), rivetted with copper bands and bosses, gilt in effective contrast to the grey iron.

⁸ Longpérier, pls. v. 7, 8, 9; vii. 4, 5.

⁹ Bayer, *Historia Osrhoena*. Abgarus's tiara, p. 130.

¹⁰ Longpérier, pl. xii. 4; my *Sassanian Inscriptions*, p. 121; Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. p. 215, note.

44 A.D.; and, singular to say, we have an example of a nearly similarly outlined horse in the Parthian Imperial series proper, on the money of Artaban III. (on a coin dated in A.D. 13), where the unkempt hair around the face of the monarch, typical of the fashion prevailing amid the tents of the Dahæ (?) nearly fills one surface of the coin, while his charger on the reverse might fairly claim kindred with the Bactrian-bred steed.¹¹

The physiognomy of the king on the obverse of Nos. 2, 3, 4, bears no analogy to the conventional Parthian portraiture, but is clearly derived from Indian ideals of the human face. The almond eye, the slight moustache, and the smooth-shaved rounded jowl, all associate themselves with Eastern models, ranging from the Kodes coins of Seistân¹² on the one side to the earlier Surashtran pieces of the Sâh kings,¹³ and the later types retained by the Guptas.¹⁴ Hence, in admitting local influence in the composition of the profile, we must infer either an entire surrender of Parthian predilections, a facile concession to indigenous art, or a supposition of confession of fealty by the established dynasty, and their recognition as local rulers by the Parthian Suzerain. Among the minor indications may be noticed the germ, or possibly the later development, of the Sassanian broad floating fillet, together with the crescent in front of the head-dress, which, though

¹¹ Visconti, *Icon. Grecque*, pl. 50, No. 2; Longpérier, pl. xii. 9.

¹² Prinsep's *Essays*, i. 337; ii. 203, pl. xiii. 11, 12; *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. ix. 1--5; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv. N.S. p. 210.

¹³ Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. 94; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1850, vol. xii. pls. i. ii. p. 72.

¹⁴ *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, and Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. pl. xxxvii. 16, 17, &c.

essentially Sassanian, was not exclusively so, as the Guptas alike affected the symbol.¹⁵

One of the reasons for preferring the later date for these coins consists in the fact, that the similitudes of the wave of the curl and general arrangement of the crest are undoubtedly closer, and more marked between the comparatively subsequent Parthian issues of Pacorus II.¹⁶ and Vologeses IV. (A.D. 148—190),¹⁷ than those of the primary patterns employed by Phraates II. and Sanatruces. And the elegant leaf-scroll, pendant from the Indian turband of Nos. 2 and 3, finds a curious and almost exact counterpart in the ornamental fall at the back of the Parthian tiara introduced by the identical Vologeses IV.,¹⁸ revived or retained in use by Vologeses VI.¹⁹ and Artavasdes,²⁰ with

¹⁵ Jour. Roy. As. Soc. xii. pl. ii. figs. 32, 49; *Ariana Antiqua*, xv. 17, 18; Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxvii.

¹⁶ Longpérier, xv. 6.

¹⁷ Longpérier, xvi. 11.

¹⁸ Longpérier, xvi. 11; xvii. 7; *Trésor de Numismatique*, pl. xxi. figs. 13, 14, 17; Lindsay, vi. 28.

¹⁹ Longpérier, xviii. 6; Lindsay, vi. 31.

²⁰ Longpérier, xviii. 11; *Sassanian Inscriptions*, p. 127. It will be seen from these repeated references how largely I am indebted to M. A. de Longpérier's "*Mémoires sur la chronologie et l'iconographie des Rois Parthes Arsacides*" (Paris, 1857), which so deservedly won the national *grand prix de numismatique* of its day. The essay in question being avowedly fragmentary and incomplete, has, I regret to say, been temporarily withdrawn from circulation, so that I may be accused of parading references to a comparatively inaccessible work. This objection has, however, been in a measure removed by the reproduction of the author's leading classifications in MM. Rollin et Feuardent's *Sale Catalogue* of 1864, where the various coins are described in consecutive order, and the more prominent modifications in the historical arrangements introduced by M. de Longpérier, are clearly given under his sanction. Apart from the leading triumphs of M. de Longpérier's latest rectification of the recognised French *Spécialité* in Parthian Numismatics, I may add that no series of oriental coin illustrations of equal merit has been produced in Europe since Marsden's time; and if the

whom the Arsacidan dynasty became finally extinct. But, here again, we must be cautious how we pronounce for any definite period for these fashions, or pretend to determine priority of usage, even if the more safe course would not be to refer both adaptations to more or less pervading provincial designs.

Nos. 3, 4. Silver. Cabinet of Comte Stroganoff.

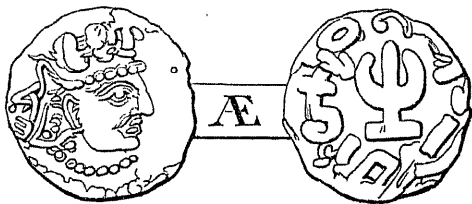


The monogram, at the back of the horseman on the reverse, offers another instance of the strange modifications ancient devices may be subjected to, in the hands of artists who probably did not comprehend the intent and meaning of the prototype. I have felt some diffidence in identifying the odd jumble of lines on No. 1 as a reproduction of the Parthian eagle; but, in truth, the original designs, on the Imperial issues, did not contribute any very exact delineation of the sacred bird, and the Indian copyist may have been even less instructed in ornithology and less conversant with the flight of eagles than the Western designers; while his own imitators may well have

author should still feel any hesitation or reserve in publishing the necessarily elaborate details of such an obscure and complicated section of the world's history, he has already so successfully encountered in part, let us hope that he will, at all events, permit this present generation to benefit by the admirably arranged pictorial classification of the existing plates that illustrate his prize essay.

failed to detect a likeness he himself was incompetent to give effect to. Be this as it may, the symbol or device on Nos. 2, 3, and 4, has clearly arrived at the monogrammatic stage, though quaint traces of the bird's head are still to be detected on Nos. 2 and 3. The monogram, in its advanced form, is assimilated to several designs in favour with neighbouring dynasties; in its lower limbs it singularly accords with the special stamps or crypto-monograms employed by Kadphises, Kanerki, and Ooerki;²¹ while in its central upper portion it approaches nearer to the Indo-Sassanian design, which occupies the entire coin reverse, depicted in pl. xvii. fig. 20 of Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*,²² and otherwise, in general characteristics, it has much identity with the ordinary mystic diagrams of the Sassanian seals;²³ but both these latter may well have been merely continuous imitations or developments of an abiding ideal, varied according to the tendency of the nation, or the whim of the moment, in their minor details.

No. 5. *Copper. Musée Asiatique, St. Petersbourg.*



The obverse head in this instance shows a considerable

²¹ *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. x. 5; xi. 16; xiv. 1; and pl. xxii. No. 155, *et seq.*

²² See also xvii. 21.


²³ *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* xiii. 425, *et seq.*; Mordtmann *Zeitschrift*, 1864, Nos. 63, 101, 124, 140; Lajard *Culte de Mithra*, pl. x., numerous examples, but especially No. 13. Also plates xlv. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 15, and liv. c. 6, 7, 8, 9—16, 19, 20, 21.

amount of degradational treatment, even upon the imperfect models, which it clearly follows. The change in the reverse device is important, not only in removing the mintage from any very close connection with its predecessors, but in shadowing forth a possible change in locality. At first sight the symbol which occupies the field appeared to belong to some of the many forms of the Indian *Triṣula*, or trident, which was already recognised as peculiar to *Śiva*; ²⁴ but a more probable association presents itself in the classic trident of Neptune, which served as the leading device for so many Greek currencies, ²⁵ and which had originally been propagated in proximate localities by Demetrius of Bactria, where its employment is supposed to mark some sea-board conquest, ²⁶ or in the limited geographical notions of the day, an advance to some big river or inland lake which stood for the ocean itself.

Having completed the incidental references to the coin devices, I now approach the more difficult task of endeavouring to explain the legends themselves. Those illite-

²⁴ See coins of Kadphises (105 B.C.); *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. x. figs. 5, 12, &c.; and of Kanerki, pl. xii. fig. 4; Ooerki, pl. xiv. fig. 14.

²⁵ Among others, Berytus, Carystus, Coreyra, Leucas, Lipara, Massana, Rhauco, Tenos, &c.

²⁶ A coin lately published by Gen. Cunningham in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ix. N.S. pl. iv. fig. 7. Obverse, Shield of Minerva. Reverse, trident; legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. Monogram, . See also *Num. Chron.* viii. p. 202.

Other types of Neptune are to be found in the Bactrian series, on the coins of Antimachus Theos (*Prinsep's Essays*, ii. 188; *Mionnet Suppl.* viii. 466); Azas (ii. 207, pl. xvii. 14), and *Ariana Antiqua*, vii. 5.

Menander's dolphin (*Prinsep*, ii. 194) may have a similar bearing, and the fish tails of the figure on the coins of Telephus (ii. 198) may suggest a like idea.

rate savages, the Parthians, finding themselves, amid the chances of conquest, domesticated foreign rulers, in the absence of an alphabet of their own, very wisely accepted the varieties of writing current in the localities in which they settled. Among the leading and more important systems they are found to have taken advantage of, the following may be enumerated :—

1. Greek, which was taken over as the court and official language, ruling in the dominions of the Selenidæ, about 255 B.C.

2. The Bactrian, or the special adaptation of an originally Semitic alphabet for the expression of an Aryan language, which appears upon Parthian coins, about 110 B.C.

3. Various forms and modifications of Phœnician and Aramæan, in use on coins following the leading type of the tetradrachms of Euthydemus of Bactria, of uncertain date; and several other modifications of an old type of Syriac, such as that found on the coins of Edessa, and subordinate branches of coinage of indeterminate locality, hereafter to be noticed.

4. The double alphabets of the Pehlvi (now discriminated as Chaldæan and Sassanian), which intrude among the Greek legends so early as A.D. 2, and which finally supersede the Greek itself about the third century, A.D.

The present inquiry is only secondarily concerned with either the Greek or the Bactrian alphabetical adaptations of the Parthian dynasties, nor does it seem to touch, except in a subordinate degree, any of the outlying branches of the duplicate Pehlvi systems; but these concessions limit, in a corresponding degree, the free area of interpretation of the characters now under consideration; and, as such, I have to examine them with more formality

than I should otherwise consider their due. The first outwork to be assailed is the series of the once-denominated Characene imitations of the Euthydemus' type.²⁷ Now that M. W. H. Waddington has so critically drawn within its proper circle the heretofore loose arrangement of the issues of the Characene dynasty, we find that their coins have no connection with the Bactrian series beyond an irregular derivation in common from the leading types of Antiochus II., whose medallie designs were imitated alike by Euthydemus of Bactria, and other more Western claimants for dominion, under a possible notion of some hidden virtue in his conventional Numismatic *Ægis*. So that the entire series of degradations from the pure Euthydemus type must be made to adhere to their own definite matrix, or limited to exceptional prototypes of Antiochus II. in his good Greek form, but entirely divorced from the *bearded* portraits, whose living originals ruled over the migratory Arab tribes at the head of the Persian Gulf.²⁸

Now that the general horizon has been cleared, and the imitations of the original Euthydemus' type may be treated independently on their own merits, they are found to declare themselves as unmistakably Parthian. Some of the preliminary degradations probably follow merely decadent Greek models, but when once Greek letters so entirely disappear as to leave only their shadow behind them, from that moment the epigraphs merge into more or less intelligible barbarian or composite and exceptional

²⁷ *Revue Numismatique*, Paris and Blois, 1866, p. 303. See also Mr. Vaux's paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, O.S. xviii. 137.

²⁸ M. Waddington's list extends from Hyspaosines, B.C. 124, to Attambilus V., who dates subsequent to 122 A.D.

writing, and associate themselves with a correspondingly deteriorated representation of the classic face of Euthydemus, the Magnesians. The importance of these coins, therefore, in the present case, only commences when they are sufficiently degraded to have emancipated themselves from all reminiscences of Greek writing, and then, strange to say, they become so completely Parthian in their obverse types as to admit of ready identification with the portraits of certain members of the Imperial list, whose tiaras are distinguished by modifications, which, as has been already shown, they share in common with the Indo-Parthian pieces which form the special subject of the present notice. The chief peculiarity of the later imitations of the Euthydemus type consists in the substitution of a coarse bossed helmet for the classic chevelure of the Greek commander; and coincident with this change, the helmet itself is ornamented with a sort of spiked-crest, similar to the Edessa and other varieties of the Parthian tiara; and, more remarkable still, the debased type copies directly the cheek-plate or bar in front of the ear, which first occurs among the various coin portraits of Mithridates I. (B.C. 173—163),²⁹ the earliest Arsacidan who fully penetrated into these lands;³⁰ its next appearance is on the money of Phraates II. (B.C. 136—126),³¹ when it is associated with the curious crest ornamentation, which the French Numismatists describe as “une tiare sphérique ornée de figures de cerf et d’une

²⁹ Longpérier, pl. iii. 8; Lindsay, i. 18—20.

³⁰ Vaillant, i. 40. Phraates I. must already have had some conflicts with the Bactrian Greeks, to judge from his appropriation of the Dioscuri reverse and Indian elephant of Eucratides, without claiming more directly the Indian bearing of the head of Bucephalus.—Longpérier, ii. 9, 10, 11, 12.

³¹ Longpérier, v. 7, 8, 9.

corne de taureau.”³² The Mithridates’ tiara is nearly covered with bosses, and the Phraates’ helmet retains them in equal prominence, as far as the alteration of pattern permits. However, without insisting upon any direct and immediate reproduction, these coincidences are curious, and their specification is necessary to prepare the way for the consideration of the legends themselves. I take these up at the point mentioned by M. R. Rochette, in his notice of the collection of the Baron Chaudois where they are described as “*toujours figurée avec les mêmes caractères.*”³³

The number of letters on these debased pieces is only seven in all, which I transcribe into modern characters as מלכא יסך *Malká Isak*, “King Arsaces.”

The most anomalous incident connected with these legends is the odd variety of alphabetical systems from which these few letters seem to have been derived, or, under our obligations of trying back for identifications, to how many conflicting schemes of writing it is necessary to refer for the prototype of these eccentric modifications. The initial מ M, allowing for its being reversed, belongs to the Phœnician series of Esmunazar of Sidon (599 B.C.). The ל L might stand for a reversed ש S of Sargon’s time, or the Greek Σ on the coins of Arsaces V. The γ K follows the old model of a Phœnician ג G, a form which was preserved in many varieties of Aramaic and Pehlvi. The א A, final, is more like a Chaldaic-Pehlvi ת T than an ordinary Semitic A, and it is only by reverting to the Syriac of Edessa that we gain a hint as to its original

³² Trésor de Numismatique, Rois Grecs, pl. lxxvii., No. 16, p. 141.

³³ Journal des Sav., 1834, June; 1835, Sept., p. 515; *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 224—5.

which occurs on the coins of *Ibiganá*, whose mint types also follow a derivation, much deferred, from the original devices of Antiochus II. and Euthydemus.³⁶ The *NA* in

³⁶ Dr. Scott, *Numismatic Chronicle*, xviii. p. 28, p. i. figs. 7, 8. I rather question Dr. Scott's *Ibīnā*, because his *l* in the name is a totally different letter from his assured *l* in *Malka*. The name may be *Ibiganá* (ابي غني) or *Abidana*.

I have partially deciphered one of the varieties of his coin No. 10, of the same plate; the opening מלכא is clear, and affords a new illustration of the value of the מ = ל of the present series. The legend runs on—וּלְמַלְכָּא = וְזֶה מַלְכָּא and the complete transcript of the legend on the obverse, or *Arab* portrait surface, may be given with needful reserve, as—

To the left, at the back of the head, reading from the *inside* (variant מלכיאוא) מלכאוא.

To the right, in front of the profile, reading from the *outside*—מלכאוא מלכא. The peculiar massing of the hair is important, as indirectly connecting the portrait with the fashion in use by Attambulus II.

On the reverse, or the face bearing the *Parthian* bust, there are three detached words; at the back of the head are the letters מלכא; and in two parallel lines, in front of the profile, are to be seen the words {מלכא} with a Greek monogram, containing the letters MANZ, similar to the monograms on the coins of Attambulus II. of Charax, A.D. 51—60 (Waddington, pl. xii. 18), with a separate Syriac monogram, comprising the independent letters מלכא (Ambár). The whole of which legends may be loosely modernised into

ملکازا مانڈیا طپاکي ذمہ رومس روم

Malchijah Toparch (Τοπάρχης) of Monzar, tributary (ذمّی) of the Roman of Rome. (?)

Or, Malchijah of the tribe of Mondar, Toparch of Ambár. (?)

The characters of these legends follow many of the peculiarities of the alphabet now known as “Mandaite,” but the exceptions to any fixed uniformity of derivation are numerous and conflicting *inter se*. The *L* is admittedly exceptional in form, but we have authority enough for its true value in parallel writings. The *P* is also a doubtful letter, and liable to be confounded with the *U*, neither of which are quite positive.

the Malká is a very unusual form of that letter; and here, again, the character might equally be resolved into a π T. The remaining letters are all repetitions except the ι 1,

The π follows the outline of the assured π in the π of the coins of Vál. (Num. Chron. xviii. pl. i. fig. 1), but the consistency of outline is not maintained in the extant examples; indeed, some of the letters which I propose to read as π may as well be taken for little used χ . My greatest difficulty, however, was to satisfy myself of the import of the opening letters in the parallel lines on the reverse, which are, perhaps, the most important as well as the most strange characters of the whole series; they would match with no single example of the extant alphabets. At first sight I suspected them to be strangely perverted α 's; they had something in common with a Nestorian π π ; some subordinate likeness to a Palmyrene π π ; but at last it struck me that they must be considerably modified forms of the Samaritan π π , which is enlarged at the point and dotted in several of the later alphabets.

The most singular part of the whole set of anomalies, here encountered, consists in the use of the *izáfat*, or short ι , as the connecting genitive, prefixed to the words روم و سوس . Some such system of definition, however, was probably already in use in the earliest Pehlvi coins, as we find on the earliest Pehlvi coins of Siád-i-Abú Sofián and his successors a similar method of conjunction (Jour. Roy. As. Soc. xii. p. 290). It must be admitted that these results are anything but conclusive; still, a beginning has to be made somewhere, and new materials and frank discussion may equally advance the present inquiry. Though looking to the confessed imperfection of Sabæan alphabetical systems in general, and the very damaging examples of defective spelling, immediately contributed by the Characene prototypes, under their Greek aspect, the rehabilitation of which has ever left incertitude in M. Renan's mind, there need be no reserve in acknowledging the difficulty of fixing the values of the letters, or determining the meaning of the legends contributed by the imperfectly settled communities, who were not bound to follow any one system, either in language or orthography, but who lived in the happy facility of borrowing terms, and their means of expression, at will, from any of the more advanced nations encircling their own quasi-desert life. The numismatic links in the chain of evidence are, on the other hand, singularly complete; and, if it depended solely on

which follows a Sassanian Pehlvi model, the $\Delta = \text{𐭥}$ of the modern Pehlvi.

We have no direct means of determining the locality to which these coins belong. The fire altar on the reverse points to Persian associations, and the style of the letters, without limiting their site to Mesopotamian kingdoms,³⁷ clearly indicates a derivation from or connection with some of the indigenous branches of writing, which possibly influenced in their spread the alphabets of the southern coast towards the Indus.

The other class of coins to which I have alluded as possessing some features in common with the series under review, have heretofore been known by the designation of "Kodes," whose name they bear in imperfect Greek characters. These pieces were ordinarily associated with the issues of the Bactro-Greek dynasties, but later investigation proves them to have followed on in succession to certain types of Antiochus II., possibly through the intermediary of another (local) prince of the same denomination. The proper Kodes coins bear on the obverse a head, imitated from the prototype of Antiochus II. with the

their indications, there would be little hesitation in pronouncing that the coins themselves must belong to some local governor, on the part of the Romans, over the dominions of the Mondar Arabs of Irák, and probably represent Trajan's conquest of lower Babylonia in 116 A.D., associated with the submission of Attambilus of Mesene (Dio. Cass. lxxviii. 28; Sale's Korán, preface, p. 13). The Greek monograms accord with such an inference, and the Syriac monographic letters AM occur in like manner upon the direct imitations of the Characene coins bearing the name of *Ibiyana*, already adverted to.

³⁷ These coins are not uncommon in Northern India; but, as far as my own experience extends, they are usually met with as isolated specimens, as if their point of issue had been elsewhere; on the other hand, to judge of the localities whence the other examples of the class have been obtained, there is no reason to refer their origin to any specially Mesopotamian site.

Bucephalus reverse,³⁸ but which had already passed through one stage of degradation at the hands of *an* Antiochus, who modified the profile considerably, and notably departed from Greek rules in the introduction of the light moustache, the reversal of the direction of the head, and the introduction of a Semitic legend. The head of Bucephalus is here replaced by a Scythic archer, but the Greek legend, hopelessly debased, of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, is perpetuated in as much completeness as provincial knowledge could still achieve, and the quasi Semitic legend on the obverse resolves itself into the component elements of אַחַזְכֻּר, *Antúku* or *Antááku*.³⁹ The succeeding Kodes coins themselves are marked by a similar obverse head, which returns to the normal position; but the device on the reverse is modified into a spearman, with flames issuing from his shoulders, a peculiarity he shares with the figures of the *Kanerki* Indo-Scythians,⁴⁰ while other types of Kodes money reproduce the Bucephalus head of Antiochus II. The legends of these issues are couched in imperfect Greek, which may be restored as follows:—ΚΩΔΟΥ (at times ΥΠΚΩΔΟΥ), and on the reverse ΟΠΑΗΘΡΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΟΥ (sic) [*Mákaros*], (Coin) of Kodes (the guardian) of the sacred great fire. But it is doubtful if Kodes is a name

³⁸ Seleucus Nicator introduced this device, which is supposed by some Numismatists to refer to Bucephalia on the Jhelum. (Leeke, *Num. Hellen*, i. 21; *Num. Chron.* xviii. 138; *Trésor de Numismatique des Rois Grecs*, p. 84.) Mithridates I. of Parthia and Phraates I. make use of this type. (Mionnet, v. 649; *Trésor de Numismatique*, pl. lxvii. 7; Longpérier, pl. v. 12.)

³⁹ Much licence has to be claimed in arriving at this result. The leading alphabet is Chaldaeo-Pehlvi, and the first, third, fourth, and seventh letters follow that system consistently, but the second letter is a bad Greek N, and the penultimate is rather Bactrian in its aspect; and, moreover, it must be noted that the Pehlvi *α* A's consist of a mere cross, which might otherwise authorise their being read as *α* M's.

⁴⁰ *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xii.; Prinsep's *Essays*, i. p. 124, &c.

at all, and its conjunction with the 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬌 Fire (Persian 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀, 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀, 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀, as in 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀; The Ur of the Chaldees) may require its identification with some of the derivative forms of 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀, *purus fuit*.⁴¹ Such a combination would have this to recommend it, that it would form a near transcript of the ΟΡΑΗΘΡΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΟΥ, which being analyzed, may be resolved into 𐬀𐬭𐬀 "great,"⁴² 𐬀𐬭𐬀, "fire,"⁴³ 𐬀𐬭𐬀, "blessed." In this case the coins themselves might be supposed to have been minted by the hierarchy of some great fire temple. The Semitic legend occurring upon certain varieties reads freely as 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 *Kodo*,⁴⁴ but there are three letters following this word, new examples of which may alter or confirm the whole interpretation above suggested. At present, however, the only moderately clear impressions within reach give outlines

⁴¹ 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 Spiritus sanctus, 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀 Jerusalem.

⁴² Zend, *Areta, ereta*. 𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀.

⁴³ Zend Avesta, i. p. 87; Burnouf, *Yaçna*, p. 377.

⁴⁴ To show what treacherous ground we are upon in the interpretation of these mixed and debased alphabets, I may mention that I was some time since completely misled in reading the local version of the name of Kodes as *Kuât* (Kobâd). The mistake I made was caused by my accepting the more artistically finished coins as affording the most correct form of the legend; whereas, as has been seen in the case of the imitations from the Euthydemus type, the inferior Greek copyists could neither do justice to the one alphabet or the other, and it required a complete surrender of the die execution to home-bred artists before any consistency in the definition of the native legend could be secured. My main error was in the admission of the third letter of the name as a Pehlvi 𐬀, 𐬀, whereas the true form is shown in the third character in the 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *Malka* of the present series (Nos. 2, 3, 4). The final 𐬀 𐬀 in the better coins was also deceptive, as the proper 𐬀 𐬀 had an additional limb attached, like the ordinary Pehlvi 𐬀 𐬀 (Num. Chron. N.S. iv. 210; Jour. Roy. As. Soc. iii. N.S. p. 250).

of the characters כרא, the two first letters being consistent in alphabetical derivation with the rest of the legend, but the final takes the form of an old Syriac or Estranghelo א. Accepting, for the moment, this transcription, the general sense would be well preserved, and in accordance with the Greek, in *کودوکرا* or *کودوکد* "Sacred Temple." The monogram of the Greek K obviously suggested the appropriate locality of *Kappan*, but the more advanced identifications which now force themselves into notice tend to move the accredited site further eastwards, nearer to Rustam's home in Seistán. Masaudi tells us that *the third* celebrated Pyræum of the early Fireworshippers was placed in that province, and the name he gives to the sacred shrine, though disfigured in the MSS. copies, is not far removed from possibly irregular forms of *Koddos*;⁴⁵ beyond this, less archaic references may be cited in Edward Conolly's map, where a very large, though indefinite, space near Zaranj is designated as "*Kuddeh*;" and looking back to the single unadulterated fac-simile of

⁴⁵ Isidore of Charax in his *Σταθμοὶ Παρθικοί* gives the following account of the chief places in Seistán in his day:—'Ἐντεῦθεν Ζαραγγιανή, σχοῖνοι κά. Ἐνθα πόλις Πάρων καὶ Κορὸκ πόλις. (Variant, Οὐκορὸκ.) Hudson, ii. 8. Paris edition, 1855, i. p. 253. Masaudi speaks of the highly venerated Fire-temple originally erected by Bahman at *کركويه*, in Seistán. Paris

edition, vol. iv. pp. 73, 462. Yakuti *in voce* in "La Perse of M. B. de Maynard." See also J. H. Møller, Fac-simile of an original MS. of *Istakhri* (Gothæ, 1829), p. 104, and map, p. 105; Ouseley, *Oriental Geography*, p. 209; Ibn Khordadbah, *Jour. Asiatique*, 1865, p. 56; Juynboll, *Marasid al Ittilâ'*, 491; Kasvini (Wüstenfeld, Gott. 1848, ii. p. 163; Hyde, 151; Edw. Conolly, *Map of Seistán*, *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, ix. p. 724; "Goor-gooree" (No. 48), Col. Anderson, *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1849, p. 537; Kinneir, "*Kookhozerd*, a fortified town, built on a high island in the centre of the Hâmoon," p. 190; Dr. Sprenger, maps iv. and xii.; Rawlinson, *Roy. Geog. Soc. Jour.* x. 88, "Karian."

Istakhri, given in all mechanical detail from an original MS., we may trace very definite outlines of the name القدس (without the points), on nearly the same ground, between Zaranj and Bust. Even in the same way, though not to force examples, the preferential کړکړه crops up in one instance in Masaudi's MSS. as کداکان and کړکړکان.

I have now completed, as far as present means permit, the introductory evidence bearing either upon the typical or palæographic characteristics of the five coins which form the leading object of the present notice, and nothing remains but to say so much as may safely be said of the imperfect legends on their surfaces; the initial \mathfrak{m} , though varied in outline in the existing specimens, is clearly an \mathfrak{h} or \mathfrak{b} of the joint Pehlvi schemes of writing, following the general design, though varied in the manipulation of the earliest and pervading model of the Semitic \mathfrak{m} \mathfrak{m} .

The second letter might be taken to be a modification of the Chaldaeo-Pehlvi \mathfrak{d} L, but as we have seen that a nearly identical character on the Kodes coins, where its value is assured by the Greek context, stood for the Semitic \mathfrak{d} D, it will be preferable to read it as D in this instance also. This is a conclusion which, indeed, accords with the general Indian associations of the coins themselves. We have frequent instances of the use of מרכא *Marka* for *Malika*, and here we have only to extend the licence to the local $\mathfrak{d} = \mathfrak{z} = \mathfrak{p}$, which is often indistinguishable in sound to foreign ears from the \mathfrak{r} .

The third letter in the order of reading, from the *outside* of the coin, I have assumed to be a \mathfrak{r} K, a very early definition of which, in almost identical conformation, may be traced in the parallel writing of more western sites, and the back stroke of the Bactrian system further

satisfies local identifications. The final \aleph A is a confessed difficulty, and it becomes a still more palpable obstacle in the present instance, where in the indefinite formation of the letters it may be taken for an \beth M, like the associate initial, or a τ T derived from independent schemes of writing. Singular to say, of all the letters of the Semitic alphabet, the opening Alif was the one most subject to empirical modifications, dating from the primitive imitation of a bull's head of the earliest graphic system to the severe perpendicular line of the Kufic and modern Syriac. The \aleph A of the Edessa coins follows the most Archaic form of the Phœnician γ *ain*, but it varies so far from some of the more advanced Phœnician derivatives, which have an opening at the top of the round o,⁴⁶ that it occasionally has this gap in its own legitimate line of writing,⁴⁷ to the left hand of the letter itself, and to this it frequently supplements a dot, like its own ι I, at the orifice,⁴⁸ so that it is possible that a similar process may have been followed in the present instance, where the dot has grown into a more pronounced downstroke. Otherwise the final may be a sort of compromise with the prototype of the later Arabic ع , only that we do not want the word in the feminine gender, and equally should we

⁴⁶ Gesenius, *Scripturæ Lingueque Phœnicæ*; La Langue Phœnicienne, A. C. Judas, Paris, 1847; the Duc de Luynes, in Prinsep's Essays, pl. xi. *a*; Madden's Jewish Coinage, pl. i.; Dr. Levy, *Phönizische Studien*. But the latest and most complete digest of these alphabets is to be found in M. de Vogüé's *Mélanges d'Archéologie Orientale*, Paris, 1868. Dr. Wright's admirable article on "Writing," in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, treats more at large the whole question of the spread of Semitic alphabets.

⁴⁷ Sassanian Inscriptions, Jour. Roy. As. Soc. iii. N.S. p. 251.

⁴⁸ Dr. Scott, Num. Chron. xviii. p. 1, and local coins of subsequent date in the British Museum.

reject the inopportune Scripture "Malcham." At this point the characters of the legend seem to change, and were it not that traces of the 𐭠 𐭤 and the same final 𐭠, 𐭡, or 𐭢 crop up again at the end of the legend on Nos. 2, 3, and 4, I should have been disposed to think that the intermediate writing followed the model of the single word on coin No. 1. This latter might be guessed at indefinitely, according to the alphabetical scheme to which it might be proposed to refer it; as Pehlvi it might be

𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠 *Shahach*⁴⁹ or 𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠 *Shemach*, or taking Nos. 3

and 4 as Arabic لعب or لعبس. It is true that these may be said to be very impotent conclusions, only that they are not conclusions at all; any such stage of progress is still in the far-off horizon; we are as yet in the merely preliminary initiation phase of the inquiry; and while there is good hope of new materials, it would be vain to multiply mere conjectures. Even as I write, I hear from our associate, Mr. W. Frere, that he has left behind him at Bombay one, if not more, coins of this description, obtained, as we might expect, from the countries bordering on the Indus. Copies of these pieces have been sent for, and I hope, on some future occasion, to renew my examination of this subject with more effect than at present, and likewise to illustrate the alphabetical ramifications by fac-similes, which in this hasty sketch I have been unable to prepare, and without which the most elaborate descriptions are comparatively unintelligible. E. THOMAS.

⁴⁹ These names may have survived in some of the latter forms of سهرش Reinaud, l'Inde, pp. 126, 147, 176. *Tabari* صصه Masaudi, i. p. 372 (title of Kings of Sind) 𐭠𐭠𐭠𐭠 *Chach*? A'in-i-Akbari, ii. 146. "Sehris." Elliot's *Historians*, i. pp. 138, 140, 405, 408, &c. *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* xii. 341.

XIV.

FURTHER NOTICE OF GOLD COINS DISCOVERED IN
1828, BY THE LATE C. E. LEFROY, ESQ.,

AND DESCRIBED IN THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE, VOL. VI.

THE discovery of a hoard of gold coins in the parish of Crondal, Hants, by my brothers, the late Mr. Lefroy of Itchel, and the Rev. A. C. Lefroy, now Vicar of Longdon, Worcestershire, forms one of the most vivid recollections of my boyhood. It occurred in the autumn of 1828, on the heath, a little to the west of what is now Aldershot; and the interest taken in it even in those days, when the modern spirit of historical and archæological inquiry had hardly been awakened, was not a little enhanced by the conclusion, soon arrived at by Numismatists, that a large proportion of the coins were of types previously unknown. It was not, however, till 1844 that they were described and figured by Mr. Akerman in vol. vi. of this Journal. And he identified several of them as unquestionably belonging to the series of *tiers de sol* or *gold triens* of the French kings of the first race, and their moneyers, which are occasionally found in England, more especially in those counties which border on the sea-coast opposite France.¹ Very recently, however, Mr. D. H. Haigh has

¹ Akerman, Numismatic Chronicle, vol. vi. p. 171.

expressed the opinion, that the bulk of the coins are South-Saxon, a view which, if correct, adds much to their historical interest.² They are of various periods, from the fourth to the seventh century. The prominence of the Christian emblem on all of them might seem to connect them with the introduction of Roman Christianity into this island: one class (No. 28) bears the unmistakable image of an ecclesiastic, possibly the first bishop of London, for it bears the superscription LONDVNIV, and Mr. Akerman inclined to the conclusion, with regard to these, that "we may with tolerable certainty assign to them a place in the Anglo-Saxon coins, merely observing, that, if admitted, they must be considered ecclesiastical coins, and not the production of a regal mint." However, one coin, No. 7, bears the name of St. Eligius, and thirteen or fourteen, out of the thirty-seven classes into which Mr. Akerman has divided them, comprising about one-fourth in number of the coins, are evidently of Frankish origin. If the others are South-Saxon—and for the most part their excessive rudeness and illiterate character favours that supposition—some marked differences of character and legend may be expected. Mr. Akerman's plates, here reproduced, leave little to be desired as to general accuracy of representation; but they do not reproduce the barbarous lettering with sufficient precision, or give the various readings by which his thirty-seven types may be subdivided into at least sixty impressions; and having lately gone over the whole of them very minutely, and, I think, deciphered one or two of those which he dismissed briefly as "of barbarous type and legend," I venture to hope that a further account will be acceptable towards a solution of the question.

² Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. ix. p. 180 (1869).

Type 1.—These coins, six in number, are stated by Mr. Akerman to be imitated from the coins of Licinius, A.D. 308—324. That we should find coins of the Eastern Cæsar rather than the Western in a British hoard, is somewhat surprising, and one is tempted to speculate whether Luidhard, or some of the attendants of the Christian daughter of Charibert, or even Archbishop Theodore himself, may not have been the means of their introduction into Kent. They are of beautiful execution, and in excellent preservation. Mr. Akerman has overlooked the letters TIVS, which are plain on one coin, and to be traced on them all. Thus the complete legends, in Roman letters, are :—

Obv.—GVASVI · O · IDILPNI. = INPLIDI · O · IVS
ATG.

Rev.—DNLICINIAVD :: GVSTIVS

The reversed letters, six in number, cannot be reproduced with ordinary type, but are carefully imitated on Plate III. The engraver of Plate I. (*i.e.*, Akerman's plate) has omitted the final I in the first word. The centre of the reverse is occupied by the letters T^oU over two figures, which are, I think, not the letter X, but crosses. The meaning of INPLIDI is unknown.

No. 2.—There are three coins, of which the obverse bears the same inscription as No. 1, but they appear not to be from the same die, the heads being slightly larger. The reverse is, however, dissimilar. The cypher is U.T. between five minute circles or open dots, which fill the centre and four points in a cruciform arrangement. The inscription on one coin (*b*), although similar in purport, is entirely different in arrangement from that on the other two (*a*). They read thus :—

Rev.—(a) SGNLICINIAVGVSST : O : = DN . LICINI .
AVGVST : O : S.

Rev.—(b) SOTVGVAINOITINQ = DN . LICINI .
AVGVSTOS.

The D, in Domini, is really a G. There is a peculiarity in one S of *a* which deserves notice, as it does not occur on any other coin.

No. 3.—There are two coins which differ in two letters on the reverse, the one having ΔAS, the other DVS in the last syllable of the proper name. The letter CA beside the cross are also of different form, and generally the one is much ruder than the other. They read :—

Obv.—METTIS CIVITATI.

Rev.—ANSOALDVS (or ΔAS) MONET.

No. 4.—That the very rude and blurred inscription on the obverse is an abbreviation and corruption of *Dominus Noster LEO Pius Felix Augustus*, as read by Mr. Akerman, I will not venture to question; but there are two or three redundant letters, and the L in the proper name is wanting, unless represented by a sort of hyphen joining the N and E. The reverse is legible, VICTORIA AVGVSTORV8ONOO. The last four letters, CONOB, read the reverse way from the rest. The sitting figure is holding an orb and cross in the left hand, and though excessively rude in execution, is well proportioned. The emblem, if the coin be imitated from one of Leo the Great (A.D. 451—474) is appropriate to one who, as Gibbon records, received for the first time the imperial crown from the hands of the Patriarch or Bishop of Constantinople, “who was permitted to express in this unusual manner the suffrage of the Deity;” (“Decline and Fall,” ch. xxxvi.), and this coin, like the imitations of

those of Licinius (No. 1), and the *labarum* on No. 12, suggests some particular oriental connection the nature of which it would be important to ascertain.

No. 5.—This fine coin is among the best identified, being perfectly legible, for none of the letters are clipped. Mr. Akerman attributes it to Gisloaldus, a moneyer of the Eastern Merovingian branch at Metz, A.D. 656—670. It reads—

Obv.—MARSALLOVICO.

Rev.—SISLOAL.DVS MONET.

No. 6.—The word METTIS CIVITA can be recognised on the obverse of this coin, connecting it with No. 3. The letters on the reverse are bold enough, and most of them perfect. I read them SVOELENUS MON. There is but a trace, however, of the first S and last N. In common with 3, 5, 14, 15, 16, 17, 22, and 30, the Christian emblem behind is accompanied by two initials, and one of them is generally C. In this case they resemble $\Lambda\Sigma$, doubtless, however, intended for the A ω of many early Christian devices.

No. 7.—This coin is read by Mr. Akerman, no doubt correctly, PARISIVS FIT. *Rev.* ELEI MONET, and possibly the termination of the upper bend of the cross in a double pastoral crook is an allusion to the sacred character of St. Eligius. We have the same peculiarity of the cross on No. 8—20, and perhaps 10 and 13. If due to that illustrious friend of *le bon Roi Dagobert*, the date will be A.D. 628—641, but its rudeness suggests the idea that it may be an imitation.

No. 8.—The first letter on the obverse is M, and the third or fourth is S. The last four are plainly AIDE; but I am unable to offer any reading. The reverse

reads in barbarous characters SIGECHI[AV ?] . N]OMOI. The engraver has omitted two circles of raised dots, one on either side of the base of the cross, which terminates in a double pastoral staff.

No. 9.—The proper name is read by Mr. Akerman, GENNADAS, and identified with *Gennardus* in M. Cartier's list of moneyers. The D bears no resemblance to that letter. The imperfect legend on the reverse contains the consecutive letters OALΔOA, preceded, I think, by S. These last six are single coins.

No. 10.—There are three coins, from two dies. The reading VICCO, which Mr. Akerman considers to indicate the town called *Quentovic*, or Quannage, in Normandy, is preceded by two letters which appear to be VV. The legend on the reverse, DVTTA MONE, admits of no question.

No. 11.—These four coins are from three dies, but differ so slightly from No. 10 that they are probably coins of the same personage, only one of the four has the first T in DVTTA perfect; in the rest it is an inverted L; two of them read MONI.

No. 12.—This coin reads IBBONIMANEI, not, as by Mr. Akerman, BROANMANEI. There is clearly I before the first B, and the third letter is identical with the second. The monogram on the reverse is accurately given in the engraving, and appears an imitation of the *labarum*, composed of pastoral and typical figures, one of which is a trident, which we have again on No. 27. I am not aware of the meaning of this symbol in Christian art.

No. 13.—Read by Mr. Akerman PACACIO.F.O. The second C is the same as G in Gennardus, No. 9. For the reverse of this coin, and for Nos. 14 and 15, of which Mr. Akerman offers no reading, I can only refer to

Plate III. It seems hopeless to attempt to read them until more perfect specimens may be discovered.

No. 16.—The legend MVGNO+ALDVS, which Mr. Akerman identifies with the name of *Magnoaldus*, a known moneyer, is distinct. It is divided by a cross, as in the plate. The reading of the obverse *may* be MOSA VICO; but the A is obliterated, and the I and C nearly so.

The upper limb of the cross on the reverse terminates in a single pastoral staff. The letters ΔC in the third and fourth quarter, speaking heraldically, are regarded as a corruption of CA.

Mr. Akerman has offered no readings of any of the coins from No. 17 to No. 27 inclusive, except of Nos. 22 and 23. Some of thirty-five coins thus excluded as hopelessly barbarous, bear, however, legends which, if difficult to be understood, are at least legible, and deserve re-examination.

No. 17 has the initials CA, which occur, according to Mr. Akerman, on the coins of *Magnoaldus*, and associate it with Nos. 3 and 5; but the margin has been so much clipped, that no letter is entire.

No. 18.—These two coins, from different dies, but equally rude, are absolutely illegible. Their only characteristic is the minute size of the attempted letters.

No. 19 may possibly be read ANVAITOEIV, and the reverse SOUANY. Some, at least, of these letters are plain.

No. 20.—Very rude, much blurred, and only the two first letters of the reverse, CR, clear. The upper limb of the cross terminates in a double pastoral staff, like No. 7.

No. 21.—The obverse presents no lettering, but has a singular oval figure before the countenance—possibly a cypher, A.V. The reverse has a legend, and the letters

*EMOWICSWNE may, I think, be read. The more important legend, however, is a cipher S between the letters NRE, in a monogram of bold and rather graceful device.

No. 22.—The obverse has no lettering. The reverse may be read backwards, as Mr. Akerman gives it, SALT EIAIA, with TT beside the cross.

No. 23.—This coin, read conjecturally AUTHORIE REGES by Mr. Akerman, AVDVARID REGES by Mr. Haigh, is in some sort a crux. The latter gentleman regards the name as the equivalent of EADWARD or EADWALD, and supposes him to have been a king of the South Saxons, and one of the predecessors of Æthelwealh. There is no question that AVDVARID is the reading; and if this is equivalent to EADWARD, the ingenious conjecture of Mr. Haigh, that the Celtic termination "genus" in MEASSGENVS on the reverse points "to the influence of the Scottish monks, Dinab and his brethren, at Boshane, who unsuccessfully attempted the conversion and civilization of the South Saxons before the advent of St. Wilfrith," renders it one of the most interesting of the group. The lettering is peculiar, and differs from all the rest.

No. 24.—The obverse of Nos. 24, 25, and 26 refers them to the same source. The faces, though different, have a common character, and are distinguished from all the others by the singular surrounding device, which resembles a mane. They have all, with slight variations, the same unintelligible legend, which in No. 24 reads clearly enough, OSUUNOOUNOU.

No. 25.—There are six coins, from perhaps as many dies, distinguished by slight differences in the lettering, and by the size of the circles on the reverse. In common with the preceding, it presents a legend almost wholly

composed of vowels,, and they are among the most legible of the series, SUOONUONA. The penultimate letter is sometimes more like a W, or an inverted M (W), than N.

No. 26 has the same legend, and it seems to throw a light on the mechanical execution of the die, which accounts for the frequent reversal of letters in some types. It would appear that each letter was separately punched in intaglio on the die. The artist of No. 26 repeated his blows for three letters, and managed to strike them double. I am unable to hazard any conjecture as to the meaning of the legend, or the language it may be referred to.

No. 27.—There are twenty-one coins of this type, to which a further interest attaches, from the discovery of one of them near Canterbury in 1844.³ They are more likely than any others to have been coins in general circulation at the time of their collection. They are distinguishable into eight classes :—

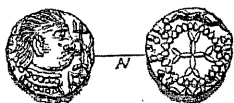
(1.) No lettering on the obverse ; four beads on the collar (9 of these).

(2.) Ditto ; lettering on the reverse ruder (1).

(3.) Ditto ; lettering on the reverse and the whole coin still ruder (1).

(4.) Ditto ; five beads on the collar ; coin very rude (1).

(5.) A legend on the obverse, much clipped ; six beads on the collar. The cypher A accompanies the trident, which resembles in all of them the one on the reverse of No. 12, except that the central prong is bifurcated, making it look like the letter



δ. There is also the same object, like the letters ΔV, placed base to base, that we find on No. 21. Heads rude and ill-struck (2).

³ Numismatic Chronicle, N.S., vol. v., p. 166.

(6.) No legend; six beads on the collar; the beads are sharp (2).

(7.) No legend; very numerous beads on the collar, but too much blurred to be exactly counted. These coins are very rude (3).

(8.) No legend. Coins of larger size than the rest, and the rudest of all. The circle on the reverse is nearly one-tenth of an inch larger than that of the remainder (2).

These differences are sufficient to indicate an extensive fabrication and circulation of coins of type No. 27, and it becomes of the more interest to make out the legends on the reverse. Fourteen of these are reproduced in the plate. Of the remainder, two are like Nos. 1 and 13; but the coins have no legend on the obverse; and the rest are too rude or too imperfect to be worth copying. I can form no idea of the meaning of the sprawling character like WV on the right. The substitution of E for L on the left resolves the remaining letters into LIAIE MONE; and if any moneyer's name has been preserved bearing a resemblance to the first word, such is, I think, its reading. Two or three specimens bear the reading VNLIAIE MONE. That the ignorant artist should have taken L for E seems no improbable mistake; but the rudeness of the legend is in singular contrast with the sharpness and beauty of some of the images, especially those in Class 1, to which the coin found near Canterbury belongs. With regard to the legends on the obverse of 13 and 14, the letters, which are very minute, may be read TTVN and TV \Rightarrow VN.

No. 28.—Unless there is some other LONDVNIV than our metropolis, these coins are probably the product of its earliest mint, and we have here the earliest portrait of a London ecclesiastic, with his somewhat

ascetic countenance, and tonsured head. What Mr. Akerman describes as "on each side a small cross rising from the shoulder," is, I apprehend, the stole, with its crosses at the end. The termination -NIV is plain on six coins, and cannot by any effort be made -NIVM, which opens a conjecture that the place is not LONDVNIVM. The reverse of one coin is certainly from a different die from the others; nor are these, as I think, all from one die.

No. 29.—There are three coins of this class—namely, the one engraved by Mr. Akerman with ΛΛ on the reverse, and two others, of which the obverse, although very similar to it, is distinguishable by the hair, and the reverse is quite different, making them, in fact, a different type. The ΛΛ is wanting, and there is an imperfect legend, which defies interpretation.



No. 30.—There are five coins, the obverse of which is the same as No. 29 *b*. The reverse is accurately given in the plate. It presents only the letters Λ Μ C Θ in the quartering. They are from two, if not three, dies.

No. 31.—There are four coins of this class, from two dies. The negro-like profile on the obverse is noticeable. The legend appears to be EVNTDA . . ooU . N . . D, but is very imperfect. There is no legend on the reverse.

No. 32.—The legend cannot be deciphered.

No. 33.—There is no legend, but the cipher S between two T's on the left side of the reverse and traces of the same on the right.

No. 34.—There are five coins which present traces of the minute lettering characteristic of several of the types; for instance, Nos. 18, 22, and some of 27, and which dis-

tinguishes them broadly from others, but it is impossible to read them

No. 35.—There are three of these. One of them has the device engraved, the other two are scarcely impressed.

No. 36.—The engraving, although not very correct, conveys a sufficiently good idea. The die seems to have been struck at random, to produce an image like No. 24 or 25. There is no legend.

No. 37.—There are traces of the letters IV. The human effigy is entirely lost in barbarous, random strokes.

Lastly, there are three blanks of 20 to 21·7 grains weight, but varying from 0·30 to 0·44 inch in diameter, the presence of which in the find seems an almost certain indication that the loser of the coins was himself a moneyer. They could not have been in the possession of any one else.

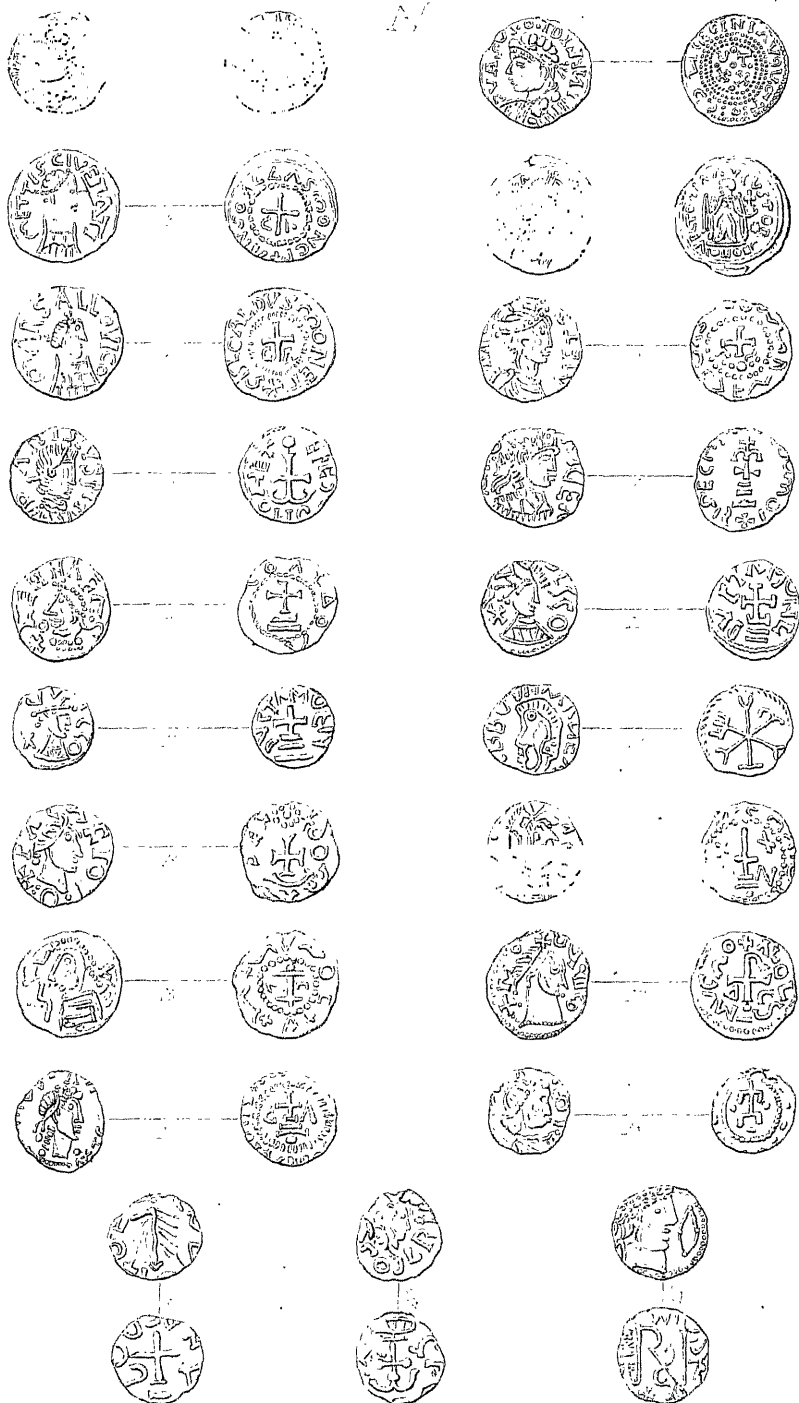
I refer to the excellent paper of Mr. Akerman, which I have endeavoured not to repeat more than is unavoidable, for an account of the jewelled ornaments in cloisonné work and the fine gold chains, found with the coins. The question is, whether they are all, or nearly all, Merovingian coins, or in great measure coins of the South Saxons. On either supposition we are presented with signs of a great degeneracy or decay of skilled artificers competent to engrave dies, and the only mechanical excellence which runs throughout is their uniformity of weight. The whole hundred weigh 1988·7 grains, giving an average weight of 19·9 grains nearly, and no individual coin differs more than 2·7 grains from this. The mean difference is 0·32 grains; but if we throw out Nos. 4 and 9 it is reduced to 0·27 grains, or

1·36 per cent., hardly enough to yield a profit to the Hebrews who might have been tempted to *sweat* them. Considering the rudeness of the method by which the weights were adjusted—namely, by clipping the edge, the metal being taken originally “perhaps by measure—this proves that under all conditions of ignorance a vigilant eye was kept by those responsible, to the production of a given number of coins of equal weight from a given weight of metal. And from the presence of blanks in the find, one is led to infer that this was sometimes done before stamping, although in other instances the lettering seems to have been cut. The impression the repeated examination of these coins has made upon me is, that there is no marked difference between those confessedly Frankish and the remainder, to warrant their attribution to a different race. If Saxon at all, they would appear to belong to that early period in the Roman conversion of this kingdom in which the religious instruction and mechanical cultivation of the monastic houses was still derived from the Continent.

It is to be noticed that the Christian emblem appears in about twenty-four different forms, among which we have many of those afterwards appropriated by heraldry, as the cross *fichée*, cross *patée*, cross *moline*, cross *cross-let*; and this, perhaps, concurs with other indications to assign a Frankish, rather than a Saxon, origin to them, notwithstanding the numerous minutiae in which they present points of resemblance to coins of the latter class.

J. H. LEFROY.

October 3, 1870.





A⁷



22



23



24



25



26



27



28



29



30



31



32



33



34



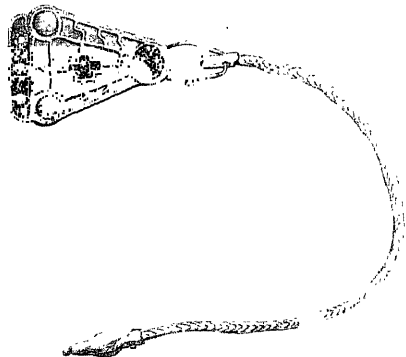
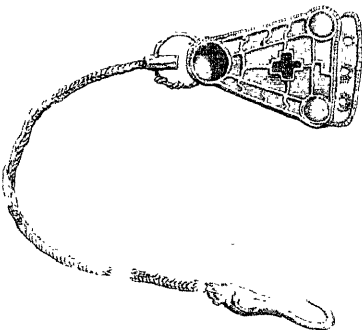
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


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17   - 






R    

18   





    

01

0 0 0

19     

Z O O - V N Y

20    

C A - /

21 

* E H O W I C J W N E +

R & T

22 No legend

A I A I E T I W +

23 A V V A B I X K E G E

+ T I E M E A N C E N V E

24 No legend

+ O M U U U O O U M O U T

25 No legend

a + Z U O O M U P Y V A +

b + M U O O N U O W A +

c + M U O O N U O W A +

d + M U O O N U O W A +

e M U N Y U O W I W

f + M U O O N U V A +

26 No legend

+ M U O O N U O W A +

27 No legend

1 I R I V I E W

Cypher 1-13



2 M I R I O W E I V I T Y Y

3 M I R I O W E I V I T Y Y

4 M I R I O W E I V I T Y Y

5 M I R I O W E I V I T Y Y

6 M I R I O W E I V I T Y Y

7 M I R I O W E I V I T Y Y



		R 8	INIVLOWEIV
		9	INIVLOWEIV
		10	INIVLOWEIV
		11	INIVLOWEIV
		12	INIVLOWEIV
		13-17-18-19	INIVLOWEIV
		14	INIVLOWEIV
28	<i>No legend</i>		INIVLOWEIV
29			INIVLOWEIV
30			INIVLOWEIV
31			INIVLOWEIV
			INIVLOWEIV
			INIVLOWEIV
			INIVLOWEIV
32			INIVLOWEIV
33			INIVLOWEIV
34	<i>No legend</i>		INIVLOWEIV
35	<i>No legend</i>		INIVLOWEIV
36	<i>No legend</i>		INIVLOWEIV
37	<i>Rude</i>		INIVLOWEIV

XV.

LONDON TOKENS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE following list of hitherto unpublished London Tokens of the Seventeenth Century will form, it is hoped, a useful and interesting supplement to that published by Mr. Franks in the Numismatic Chronicle in 1862. The majority of the specimens described are in Mr. Golding's and my own collections. No additions appear to have been made to the collection in the British Museum since the publication of Mr. Franks's paper. Mr. W. H. Overall, of the Guildhall Library, who has for some time been endeavouring to add to the Beaufoy Collection, has kindly furnished me with about a dozen descriptions. In addition, I have fortunately had access to the MSS. of the late Mr. Tutet, and from them have added several descriptions; also a curious MS. illustrated catalogue of the cabinet of the late Mr. Manby, a Norfolk gentleman, who died about a hundred years ago. Both these volumes are beautiful specimens of writing, and the descriptions of coins and tokens are evidently taken from specimens in the writers' possession; for many here described, which had been obtained from other sources, agree in all points with their readings.

The classification of streets adopted by Mr. Boyne and

Mr. Franks has been followed in the present list; and though this cannot be considered as exhausting the series, it is not likely that many more will be found for some years.

J. S. SMALLFIELD.

ALDERSGATE STREET.

1. *O.* JOHN . WICKINS . 1667 = A mermaid. ½
R. IN . ALDERSGATE . STREETE = HIS HALFE PENNY.

ALDGATE WITHOUT.

2. *O.* ANDREW . KILDERMORE = An anchor and heart. ¼
R. ALLGATE . WITHOVT = A . E . K
3. *O.* THO . SPARKE . AT . THE = A cauldron. ¼
R. WITHOVT . ALLGATE = T . M . S

ARUNDEL GARDENS (*Strand*).

4. *O.* ABRAHAM . CYPER . 1666 = Cupid with bow and arrow. ½
R. IN . ARVNDEL . GARDEN = HIS HALFE PENNY. A . M . C

BARBICAN.

5. *O.* HENRY . BRAND . AT . THE . CROSS = Crossed Keys. ¼
R. KEYES . IN . BARBICAN = H . I . B
6. *O.* WILLIAM . LARKIN = St. George and the Dragon. ¼
R. IN . BARBICAN . 1656 = W . I . L

BASING LANE.

7. *O.* SAMVEL . BROXON = A bear. ¼
R. IN . BASEN . LANE . 1656 = SYLK . SHOP.

BEDFORD STREET (*Covent Garden*).

8. *O.* THOMAS . BATCHELER = CHEESEMONGER. ¼
R. IN . BEDFORD . STREET = 'The Tallowchandlers' Arms.

BETHLEM (*Bishopsgate Without*).

9. O. JOHN . CLAPTON . AT . THE = A hand pouring coffee into a
pot. 1
R. COFFEE . HOVSE . IN . BETHELEM = HIS PENNY. 1669.
10. O. — SIRPONY . HOVS = A shield of arms. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . BEDLAM . 1658 = W . F . M
11. O. JAMES . SANDERSON = A fleur-de-lys. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . BEDLAM = I . S

BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHIN.

12. O. IN . BISHOPS . GATE . STREET = IOHN . GASE . BAKER. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. NEARE . LEADEN . HALL . CORNER = I . I . G
13. O. WALTER . SHALTER . AT . Y^E = HIS HALF PENY. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. WITHIN . BISHOPSGATE = A crescent moon.
This is a variety of Boyne 207.

BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT.

14. O. IOHN . GREENE . TALLO . CH. = A triple crescent. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. WITHOVT . BISHOPSGATE = I . L . G
15. O. WILLIAM . HOLBECH = Three kings crowned, each holding
sceptre and orb. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. WITHOVT . BISHOPSGATE = W . H
16. O. IOHN . KENTISH . WITH- = 1657. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. OVT . BISHOPSGATE . 57 = I . M . K
17. O. IOHN . LAMBE . IN . RED . LION = HIS HALFE PENY. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. COVET . WITHOVT . BISHOPGAT = A lion rampant.
18. O. THE . GOVLDEN . ANCHOR = An anchor. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. WITHOVT . BISHOP . GATE = B . S . S
19. O. IOHN W WITHOVT = I . E . W $\frac{1}{4}$
R. BISHIPES . GAT . CHANLER = I . E . W

BLACKFRIARS.

20. O. CHARLES . SIMKINS = A drum. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . BLACK . FRIERS . 1657 = C . M . S

BLACK HORSE ALLEY (*Fleet Street*).

21. O. THO . BLVNSVM . AN Y^E KINGES = HIS HALFE PENY. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. HEAD . IN . BLACK . HORSE . ALLY = Bust of a king, crowned.

BLOOMSBURY.

22. *O.* RICH . GADD . AT . Y^E . WHIT = A hart couchant. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . BLOOMSBURY = R . H . G . 1663

BOSWELL COURT.

23. *O.* ELINOR . SEAWARD = E . S $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . BOSWELL . COURT = 1659.

BOW LANE (*Cheapside*).

24. *O.* JOHN . DIX . TALLOW = A man dipping candles. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. CHANDLER . IN . BOW . LANE = HIS HALF PENY . I . E . D

BRICK LANE.

25. *O.* SAMVELL . NEWMAN . AT . THE . GUY = Guy standing, holding
a spear, on which is a boar's head. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. OF . WARWICK . IN . BRICK . LANE = HIS HALFE PENNY . 1665.

BURY STREET, BEVIS MARKS.

26. *O.* ISAAC . PEADE . IN . BURY . STREET = A hart. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . BEVERS . MARKS . 1666 = HIS HALFE PENY.

BUTCHER ROW.

27. *O.* Y^E . SWAN . WITHOVT . TEM. = A swan. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. PLE . BAR . BUTCHER . ROW = E . H . M

CASTLE STREET.

28. *O.* JOHN . BAKER . IN CASTLE . STREET = Two sceptres crossed,
surmounted by a crown.
R. Blank (struck on a large oblong piece, penny size).

CASTLE STREET, LONG ACRE.

29. *O.* HENRY . GODFREY . IN . CASTLE = Two brewers carrying a
barrel. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. STREET . NEAR . LONG . ACRE = HIS HALFE PENY . H . S . G

CHANCERY LANE.

30. *O.* THOMAS . NEWSAM . IN = A double-headed eagle, displayed. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. CHANCERY . LANE . 1666 = HIS HALFE PENNY.

CHANDOS STREET.

31. *O.* THOMAS . BECKEMSFEILD = Three kings crowned, with sceptres.
R. IN . SHANDOS STREET = HIS HALF PENY.

CHARING CROSS.

32. *O.* THE . MEREMAD . AGAINST = A mermaid. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. THE . MVSE . GATE . 1650 = W . A . F
 33. *O.* AT . Y^E . FETHERS . OVER = The Prince of Wales's crest. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. AGAINST . Y^E . MVES = R . L

CHARTERHOUSE LANE.

34. *O.* THOMAS . BAREFOOT . IN = An angel. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. CHARTERHOVSE . LANE = T . P . B

CHEAPSIDE.

35. *O.* ROB . FENN . A . CAKE . HOVSE = HIS HALF PENY. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . NEW . CHEAPSIDE = The Prince of Wales's crest.

CHICK LANE.

36. *O.* IOHN . MASON = I . M $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . CHICK . LANE = A still.
 37. *O.* RICHARD . RAWLINSON = Tho Bakers' Arms. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . CHICK . LANE . 1667 = HIS HALF PENY.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

38. *O.* SIBBI^L . THEAM^E . CHRIST = A shoe. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. ASPETAL . SHO . MAK^{ER} = S . T

CLARE STREET.

39. *O.* GEORGE . SAMPSON = A still. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . CLARE . STREET = G . S . 1664.

CLERKENWELL.

40. *O.* TRISTRUMP . HEWES = A pair of scales. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. AT . CLARKENWELL . BAKER = T . A . H
 VOL. X. N.S. B B

CLOTH FAIR.

41. *O.* THO . GRANFEILD = A fox. 1
R. IN . CLOTH . FAIRE = T . S . C

COLEMAN STREET.

42. *O.* ROB . FORDE . GROTER = A mermaid. 1
R. IN . COLEMAN . STREET = R . F

CORNHILL.

43. *O.* IOHN . SWEETING = The Mercers' Arms. 1
R. ON . CORNHILL = I . S

COW CROSS.

44. *O.* ELIZABETH . HODGKINS . AT . THE = A lion rampant. 1
R. RED . LYON . COW . CROSS . 65 = HER HALFE PENNY.

COW LANE.

45. *O.* AT . THE . SHIPE . AT = A ship. 1
R. COW . LANE . END = I . S . R

CRIPPLEGATE.

46. *O.* THO . CORNEL . MILNNE = T . M . C 1
R. AT . CRIPPLEGATE . CHVRCH = 1657.

CRUTCHED FRIARS.

47. *O.* AT . THE . 3 . TUNNES . IN = Three tuns. 1
R. CRUTCHED . FRIARS = T . M . P

CURSITORS' ALLEY.

48. *O.* AT . Y^E . ROSE . TAVERN . IN = A full-blown rose. 1
R. CVSSITERS . ALLEY . 1667 = HIS HALFE PENNY. I . E . S

DISTAFF LANE.

49. *O.* RICH . MASON . IN DESTVF = A man making candles. 1
R. LANE . TALLOWE . CHANDLER = R . I . M

DITCH SIDE (*Shoreditch*).

50. *O.* JOHN . HAZARD = HIS HALF PENY. 1
R. IN . DITCH . SIDE = An anchor.

DOWGATE.

51. *O.* WILLIAM . BROWNE = A crooked billet. 1
R. AT . DOWGATE . 1659 = W . M . B
 A variety of Boyne, 679, having 2^d on the obverse.
 Another variety, having 6^d on the obverse.
 52. *O.* JOHN . QVARRINGTON = A crescent moon. 1
R. AT . DOWGATE . HILL . 1668 = HIS HALFE PENY.

DRURY LANE.

53. *O.* ALS . MARTIN . 1658 . IN = A helmet. 1
R. LITTLE . DRVRE . LANE = A . M

EAST SMITHFIELD.

54. *O.* AT . THE . BIRD . IN . HAND = A hand holding a bird. 1
R. IN . EAST . SMITHFEILD = M . E . H

EXCHANGE.

55. *O.* AT . THE . HALFE . MOON = A crescent moon. 1
R. BEHIND . THE . CHANGE = T . I . H

FENCHURCH STREET.

56. *O.* BAKER . AT . FENCHVRCH = T . E . H 1
R. Y^e . KINGS . ARMES = The Arms of England.
 57. *O.* IEROM . MATHEW . IN = A barrel. 1
R. FANCHVRCH . STREETE = I . T . M

FETTER LANE.

58. *O.* GODFREY . FOLIAMBE . 1664 = COM FITT MAKER. 1
R. AT . FETTER . LANE . CORNER = G . H . F
 59. *O.* ANN . BROWN . IN = A tiger. 1
R. FETTER . LANE . 65 = A . B
 60. *O.* MARGRET . YELVERTON . AT . Y^e = A cock. 1
R. IN . FETTER . LANE . 1668 = HER HALFE PENY.

FIELD LANE.

61. *O.* AT . THE . ROSE = T . C ¼
R. IN . FEILD . LANE = A rose.

FLEET BRIDGE.

62. *O.* S . BALL . AT . Y^E . BALL = A ball. ¼
R. ONE . FLET . BRIGE = S . S . B
63. *O.* HENRY . WOODLEY = 1657. ¼
R. NEARE . FLEETE . BRIDGE = H . W

FLEET LANE.

64. *O.* IOH . ABBOTT . IN . FLEETE = A string of candles. ¼
R. LANE . AT . Y^E . BRIDGE . = I . P . A

FLEET STREET.

65. *O.* THO . BACKHOVSE = A lion. ¼
R. IN . FLEET . STREET = T . B
66. *O.* RO . PEMBLE . IN . RACKETT = A bodice. ¼
R. COVRT . FLEET . STREETE = R . E . P

FOSTER LANE.

67. *O.* IAMES . FERNE = A pair of bellows. ¼
R. IN . FOSTER . LANE = I . S . F

FRIDAY STREET.

68. *O.* SAM . WATSON = A hand pouring coffee into a cup ½
R. IN . FRYDAY . STREETE = HIS HALF PENY.

FULLER'S RENTS.

69. *O.* WILLIAM . BATHE . AT . Y^E . OXFORD = Arms of the City of
 Oxford in a shield ; W . K . B ½
R. ARMES . IN . FVLLERS . RENTS . 65 = HIS HALFE PENNY.

GARLICK HILL.

70. *O.* AT . THE . HORSHOW . NERE = A horse-shoe.
R. GARLICK . HILL = (detrited).

GOLDEN LANE.

71. *O.* WILL . ARKESDEN . IN . GOLDEN = A man and cat. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. LANE . HIS . HALFE . PENNY = W . F . A . 1668.
 Probably the sign of Whittington and his cat.
72. *O.* WILL . BARRETT . AT . THE . BALL = W . V . B $\frac{1}{2}$
R. BREWHOVSE . IN . GOLDIN . LANE = HIS HALF PENY.

GOSWELL STREET.

73. *O.* IOHN . BIGGS . BAKER . AT FRENCH = . HIS HALF PENY. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. ALLY . END . IN . GOSWEL . STRET = I . I . B
74. *O.* WILLIAM . BRIANT . IN . GOSWELL = HIS HALFE PENY. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. STREET . IN . FRENCH . ALLEY . 68 = W . M . B
75. *O.* THOMAS . GILLMAN . IN = A spade. T . A . G $\frac{1}{4}$
R. GOSSWELL . STREET = CHANDLER.
76. *O.* ROBERT . HAINES = HIS HALF PENY. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . GOSWELL . STREET = A swan.

GRACECHURCH STREET.

77. *O.* Y^E . PEWTER . PLATTER = T . M . W $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . GRACIOVS . STREETE = A platter.

GRAVEL LANE (NEW).

78. *O.* AT . THE . SVGAR . LOAFE = A sugar-loaf. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . NEW . GRAVELL . LANE = T . H

GROCERS' ALLEY.

79. *O.* THOMAS . IOHNSON . 1666 = A cock. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . GROCERS . ALLEY = HIS HALF PENY.

GUILDHALL.

80. *O.* IOH . MEARES . AT . THE = A lion rampant. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . GVILDEHALL . YA = I . A . M

HARTSHORN LANE.

81. *O.* THE . MAIDEN . HEAD = Bust of the Virgin, crowned. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. HARTS . HORNE . LANE . END = T . M . H

HAYMARKET.

82. *O. Simon . Harvey . 1664* (In three lines script, across the field). $\frac{1}{4}$

R. IN . THE . HAYMARKETT = S . A . H

HOLBORN.

83. *O. ROBERT . BOLMIN = Two drovers.* $\frac{1}{4}$

R. AT . HOLBORNE . BRIDG = R . B

84. *O. EDW . COLE . AT . Y^E . CROWNE = A crown.* $\frac{1}{4}$

R. TAVERNE . IN . HOLBVRNE = E . C

85. *O. AT . THE . GOVLDEN . WREN = A wren.* $\frac{1}{4}$

R. AT . HOLBORNE . BRIDGE = T . T . E

86. *O. AT . THE . RAVEN = A raven.* $\frac{1}{4}$

R. AT . HOLBORNE . BRIDG = I . K

87. *O. FRANCIS . PAINE . AT . Y^E = A globe.* $\frac{1}{4}$

R. IN . HOLBORNE = F . P

A variety of Boyne 1160 reads on *R. GATE . IN . HOLBORNE .*
57 . T . E . R

88. *O. THOMAS . TAWNY . AT . THE = Bust of a king, with sceptre.* $\frac{1}{2}$

R. AT . HOLBVRN . COVNDVIT . 1668 = HIS HALF PENY.

89. *O. CROWNE . & . TOBACCO = Arms of the Babington family :
argent ten torteaux, 4, 3, 2, 1 ; in chief a label of three
points azure.* $\frac{1}{4}$

R. ROLL . IN . HOLBVRNE = A crown, and roll of tobacco.

90. *O. RICH . WARD . TALLOW . CHAND = The Tallowchandlers'
Arms.* $\frac{1}{2}$

R. LER . IN . HIGH . HOLBVRNE = R . A . W

IRELAND GATE (*Blackfriars*).

91. *O. WILLIAM . OYLE . AT = A pair of shears.* $\frac{1}{4}$

R. IRELAND . GAT = W . M . O

JERUSALEM ALLEY.

92. *O. IERSALEM . ALLEY = A boar's head, with lemon in mouth* $\frac{1}{4}$

R. IN . GRATIOVS . STREET = I . D . B

KING STREET, WESTMINSTER.

93. *O. THE . TRVMPET . IN . KINGS = A bugle-horn.* $\frac{1}{4}$

R. STREETE . WESTMINSTER = T . I . C

94. *O. WILL . CARTER . IN . KING = An angel.* $\frac{1}{4}$

R. STREET . WESTMINSTER = W . A . C

95. *O.* IOHN . FVRNIS . IN . KING . STREETE . IN . WESTMINSTER (in six lines). $\frac{1}{2}$
R. The Bowyers' Arms, occupying the whole field.
96. *O.* DANIEL . MACKADAM . AT . THE = The Butchers' Arms. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . KING . STREET . WESTMINSTER = HIS HALF PENY . 1668.
97. *O.* IN . KING . STREETE = T . M . C $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . WESTMINSTER = A hart, standing.

LAMBETH HILL.

98. *O.* IOHN . STANES . ON = A sugar loaf. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. LAMBETH . HILL . 1664 = I . S

LEADENHALL STREET.

99. *O.* IOHN . BROOKES . AT . THE = A ship. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . LEADENHALL . STREET = I . A . B
100. *O.* ALLICE . CLARKE . AT . THE . BVLLS = A bull's head. 1
R. HEAD . IN . LEADENHALL . STREET = HER 1^D 1668.
101. *O.* WILL . FOSTER . AGAINST = A bull. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. LEADENHALL . GATE = W . D . F
102. *O.* THOMAS . HILL . GROCER = Three sugar-loaves suspended. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . LEADENHALL . STREET = HIS HALF PENY.
103. *O.* AT . THE . PLOUGH . IN = A plough. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. LEADENHALL . STREETE = R . I . S
104. *O.* PHILLIP . STVBS . AT . Y^E . HOOP = HIS HALF PENY within a hoop.
R. IN . LEADENHALL . STREET = Bust of a lady in full dress.

LITTLE BRITAIN.

105. *O.* IOHN . COLLINES . IN = A breastplate. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. LITTLE . BRITTEN = I . C

LITTLE TOWER HILL.

106. *O.* ELIZABETH . GEOAGE . AT = A sugar-loaf. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. ON . LITTLE . TOWER . HILL = E . G

LONDON WALL.

107. *O.* GANNELL . GANNELL = A fox with a goose in its mouth. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. AT . LONDON . WALL . 1655 = G . E . G

LONG ACRE.

108. *O.* JAMES . AYLARD . AT . Y^E . GLOBE = A globe on a stand. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. TAVERN . IN . LONGE . ACKER = HIS HALFE PENNY.
109. *O.* IOHN . FOY . AT . THE . BLACK = A raven. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. RAVEN . IN . LONG . AKER = I . P . F
110. *O.* ISACK . POSTE . Y^E . WOSTED = I . F . P $\frac{1}{2}$
R. SHOP . IN . LONG . AKER = I . F . P

LOTHBURY.

111. *O.* AT . THE . TURKES . HEAD = Head of a Turk. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . LOATHBVRY . 1659 = R . A . R

LUDGATE HILL.

112. *O.* THE . MERMAIDE . TAVERN = A mermaid. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. ON . LVDGATE . HILL . 1652 = S . H . G
113. *O.* IOHN . PINSON . AT . THE . BELL = Head of a Turk. 1
R. SAVIGE . ON . LVDGATE . HILL = Chequers.

LUTENERS' LANE.

114. *O.* THO . IACKSON . AT . Y^E = T . I . I $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . LVTENERS . LANE = A crescent moon.

MAYPOLE ALLEY.

115. *O.* GEORGE . MEDDENS . COOK = 1663. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . MAY . POLE . ALLY = G . E . M

MINORIES.

116. *O.* Y^E . BAGE . OF . NALES = A bag dotted with nail-heads. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . LITEL . MINNERIS = G . L I . C . in two lines.
117. *O.* IOHN . SMITH . MEALE = A wheatsheaf. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. MAN . IN . Y^E . MINEREYS = I . M . S
118. *O.* HENRY . STONE . IN = An eagle and child. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. THE . MINORIES . 1656 = H . S . S
119. *O.* AT . THE . 3 . SVGAR . LOFES = Three sugar-loaves, suspended. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . THE . MINRES = H . I . T

NEW EXCHANGE.

120. *O.* JOSEPH . SYLVESTER . IRONMONGER = A frying-pan. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. NEAR . Y^N . NEW . EXCHANG . IN . Y^N . STRAND = HIS HALFE
 PENNY. 1667.

He removed to Ludgate Street, and issued another coin, dated 1670. (See Boyne, 1484.)

NEWGATE MARKET.

A variety of Boyne, 1627, has the date 1668.

121. *O.* WHEATSHEAF . AND . 3 = A wheatsheaf and three pigeons.
R. PIGEONS . NEWGAT . MAR^T = I . M . F. in monogram. $\frac{1}{4}$

NEW STREET (*Covent Garden*).

122. *O.* THOMAS . BEARDSWORTH . IN = Three herrings on a string.
 T . M . B
R. NEW . STREET . COMAN . GARDEN = HIS HALFE PENNY. $\frac{1}{2}$
123. *O.* JOHN . HIGGS . IN . NEW . STREET . IN = HIS HALFE PENY.
R. S^T . MARTINS . IN . Y^E . FIELDS . 1668 = A stick of seven
 candles. I . M . H $\frac{1}{2}$

NEWTON STREET, HOLBORN.

124. *O.* RALPH . WINCKLES . AT . Y^E . RED = A lion rampant, 1669.
R. LYON . IN . NEWTON . STREET = HIS HALFE PENY. R . M . W $\frac{1}{2}$

NIGHTINGALE LANE.

125. *O.* JAMES . CHAPPELL = A chapel with a spire. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . NITINGALLE . LANE = M . A . H

The initials do not correspond with the issuer's name.

NORTON FOLGATE.

126. *O.* AT . THE . BLACK . TALEVT = A dog. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . NORTVN . FOLGAT = I . I . H

OLD BAILEY.

127. *O.* THOMAS . EAVESON = A spread eagle. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. LITTLE . OVID . BAYLEY = T . P . E

Query—is this the token described by Boyne, No. 1692?

OLD CHANGE.

128. *O.* ANN . FISHER . 1664 = The Merchant Taylors' Arms. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . THE . OLD . CHAINGE = A . F

OLD FISH STREET.

129. *O.* GEORGE . HEARON . 1662 = A fox. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . OLD . FISH . STREET = HIS HALF PENY.

PARKER'S LANE.

130. *O.* W . K. WHITCOMBE . BREWER . IN = W . W . and four circles. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. PARKERS . LANE . HIS . HALF . PENY = 1664.

PEERPOOL LANE.

131. *O.* HVM . ASMORE . BAKER = Detrited. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . PERPOOLE . LANE = HIS H. PENY TOKEN.

PETTY FRANCE.

132. *O.* SAM . HVNT . AT . Y^E . BALL = A ball, suspended. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . PETTY . FRANCE = S . E . H . 1670.

POULTRY.

133. *O.* THOMAS . DYOTT . AT . THE . ROSE = A full-blown rose. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. TAVERN . IN . THE . POVLTRY = HIS HALFE PENNY.

QUEENHITHE.

134. *O.* THOMAS . BAKER . IN = A sugar-loaf. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. QVEENE . HITHE . 1668 = HIS HALF PENY . T . I . B
 135. *O.* HENRY . GIFFORD . AT . QVEENE = The Ironmongers' Arms. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. HITH . HIS . HALF . PENY . 1668 = A bell. H . M . G

RATCLIFF HIGHWAY.

136. *O.* THOMAS . BYLE . ALE . MAN = Bust of Henry VIII. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . RATCLIFF . 1666 = HIS HALFE PENNY. T . S . B
 137. *O.* THE . SHIP . TAVERN = A ship in full sail. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . RATLIF . HIWAY = P . I . H
 138. *O.* THE . BRICKLERS . ARMES = The Bricklayers' Arms. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . RATLIF . HIE . WAYE = M . M . M

139. O. ROBERT . ROOKE . IN . RATOLIFF = A rook. R . H . R $\frac{1}{2}$
 R. NEARE . THE . SCOOLE . HOVSE = HIS HALF PENY.
140. O. AT . THE . ROSE . TAVERN = A full-blown rose. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. IN . RATLIFE . 1653 = I . B . S
141. O. ROBERT . STRANKE = A bull. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. IN . RATOLYF . HIGHWAY = R . S
142. O. IOHN . TRICKER . IN . BLEW = The Tallowchandlers' Arms. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. GATE . FEILD . RATLIF . = I . E . T

ROOD LANE.

143. O. DANIELL . LYNDALL = Arms: a fesse dancettée, in chief
 R. IN . ROOD . LANE = D . I . L [three crescents $\frac{1}{4}$

ROSEMARY LANE.

144. O. RICHARD . COOTES . IN = HIS HALF PENY. $\frac{1}{2}$
 R. ROSEMARY LANE . 1668 = A lion rampant.
145. O. WILLIAM . EVERED . AT . Y^E . WHIT = A horse saddled and
 bridled. 1669. $\frac{1}{2}$
 R. HORSE . IN . ROSEMARY . LANE . = HIS HALF PENY. W . E . E
146. O. AT . THE . PLOW . IN = A plough. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. ROSEMARY . LANE = C . F . W

RUSSELL STREET (*Covent Garden*).

147. O. PHILIP . REILLY . OYLEMAN = A ship. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. IN . RUSSELL . STREET = P . E . R

ST. GILES IN THE FIELDS.

148. O. Y^E . EAGLE . & . CHILD . IN = An eagle and child. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. S^T . GILES . Y^E . FEILDES . 57 = I . B . L

ST. JAMES'S.

149. O. RICHARD . CHANCE . AT = A fleece. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. TAVERN . IN . S^T . JAMESES = R . A . C
150. O. ROGER . GODFREY . AT Y^E . DVCHES = Bust of the Duchess
 of York. $\frac{1}{2}$
 R. OF . YORK . IN . S . JAMES . STREET = HIS HALFE PENNY. R . E . G

ST. JOHN STREET.

151. O. THE . RED . BVLL . IN = A . G $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. S^T . JOHN . STREETE = A bull.

152. *O.* HENRY . HOTCHDALE . AT . THE = A windmill with four sails,
on a stand. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. BREW . HOVSE . IN . ST . JOHN . STREET = HIS HALFE PENNY.
153. *O.* AT . THE . VNICORNE = A unicorn. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . ST . IOHNS . STREET = T . A . W (in monogram).

ST. KATHARINE'S.

154. *O.* IOHN . IARVIS . BAKER = A shield of arms. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . ST . KATRINS . 1653 = I . M . I
155. *O.* IOHN . WHITHORNE . AT = A woman churning. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. KATHARNS . CHESMVNGE^R = I . S . W

ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND.

156. *O.* THOMAS . ELY = A castle gateway. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . S^T . MARTINES = HIS HALF PENY.
157. *O.* WILLIAM . HOLDEN . AT . Y^E . IN . ST = A man in a moon. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. MARTINS . NEERE . ALDERSGATE = HIS HALF PENY.
158. *O.* WILLIAM . SOLMON . IN . THE = A lamb and flag. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. NEW . RENTS . IN . S^T . MARTINS . LE . GRN^D = HIS HALF PENY.

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.

159. *O.* WILLIAM . HALL . AT . Y^E . KINGS = The King's Arms. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. AT . ST . MARYS . HILL . 1668 = HIS HALFE PENNY.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

160. *O.* IOHN . DORMER . AT . Y^E = A rose and crown. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. WEST . END . OF . POWLES = I . D . 58
161. *O.* AT . THE . BELL . TAVERN = A bell. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . PAVL . CHVRCH . YARD = R . H

ST. THOMAS APOSTLE.

162. *O.* IN . THE . BACK . SIDE . OF = Bust of a priest. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. ST . THO . APOSTLES = H . M . R

SALISBURY COURT.

163. *O.* THE . SVNNE . DYALL = A sunflower. 1
R. SALSBVRY . COVRT = 1^D

SEACOAL LANE.

164. *O.* *Samuell . Chappell . in . Seacole . Lane . 1671 .* (In four lines.) $\frac{1}{4}$
R. *THE . GOLDSMITHS . ARMS, filling the field.*

SHARP'S ALLEY.

165. *O.* *THOMAS . FARR . IN . SHEARPES = A rose.* $\frac{1}{4}$
R. *ALLY . NEAR . COW . CROSS = T . M . F. 1670.*

SHOE LANE.

166. *O.* *CHARLES . LANGWORTH . SHOOE = A tree.* $\frac{1}{2}$
R. *LANE . BEHIND . THE . WINDMILL = HIS HALFE PENNY.*
 167. *O.* *GEORGE . MINTMAN = A raven.* $\frac{1}{4}$
R. *IN . SHOOE . LANE = G . M*

SHOREDITCH.

168. *O.* *AT . THE . FAVLKON = A falcon.* $\frac{1}{4}$
R. *IN . SHOREDITCHE = I . S . E*
 169. *O.* *WILLIAM . FELLOWES . AT . THE = A stag lodged.* $\frac{1}{2}$
R. *AT . SHOREDITCH . CHVRCH = HIS HALF PENY. W . E . F*
 A variety of Boyne, 2259, dated 1657.

SMITHFIELD (*West*).

170. *O.* *SAMVEL . GREEN . AT . THE = The Tallowchangers' Arms.* $\frac{1}{2}$
R. *IN . WEST . SMITHFEILD = HIS HALF PENY. 1669.*
 171. *O.* *THEO . HOTHERSALE = A stag.* $\frac{1}{4}$
R. *IN . SMITHFEILD = T . E . H*

SMITHFIELD BARS.

172. *O.* *IOHN . BAKER . BYTCHER = Two poleaxes crossed. I . K . B* $\frac{1}{2}$
R. *IN . SMITHFIELD . BARRS = HIS HALF PENY. 1669.*
 173. *O.* *THO . STREAM . GROCER = A boar's head.* $\frac{1}{4}$
R. *SMITHFEILD . BARRS = T . M . S*

SNOW HILL.

174. *O.* *AT . THE . COK . AT = A cock.* $\frac{1}{4}$
R. *SNOW . HILL . 1660 = R . T . N*

SOMERS QUAY.

175. *O.* SWAN . WITH . 2 . NECKS = A swan with two heads. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. BOS . ALLE . SOMERS . KEY = XXX OVER M.

SOUTHAMPTON BUILDINGS.

176. *O.* SIMONE . OSGOOD . IN = S . M . O $\frac{1}{4}$
R. SOVTH . AMPTON . BVILDINGS = MEALE . MAN.

STEELYARD (*Thames Street*).

177. *O.* RICHARD . DERNELLY = 1661. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . STILL . YARD . HALL = R . S . D

STOCKS MARKET.

178. *O.* *No legend.* Arms: in a shield a chevron between three talbots passant; crest, a dragon rampant.
R. EDWARD . BARRETT . AT . STOCKS . MARKET. (In four lines across the field.) *Penny size, thick brass.*

STRAND.

179. *O.* THO . LANGTON . AT . Y^E = A mitre. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. MITER . IN . Y^E . STRAND = T . D . L
 180. *O.* AT . THE . SALVTATION = Two men saluting. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. TAVERNE . IN . THE . STRAND = L . E . P

TEMPLE BAR.

181. *O.* IOSEPH . HAST . OYLMAN = A dragon. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. WITHOVT . TEMPLE . BARR = I . M . H
 182. *O.* THE . TALLOW . CAHANDLER = A man dipping candles. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. WITHIN . TEMPLE . BARR = R . S . R
 183. *O.* IOSEPH . SPICER . AT . Y^E . 3 . SVGER = Three sugar-loaves. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. WITHOVT . TEMPLE . BARR . 1666 = HIS HALFE PENNY.

THAMES STREET.

184. Boyne, 2488, should read—*O.* EDWARD . OAKES . AT . BENETS.
R. CASTLE . THAMES . STREET.
 185. *O.* IOHN . HARDIE . AT . THE . IN = A bunch of grapes in a hoop. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. THAMES . STREET . BY . DOV . COR = HIS HALFE PENNY. 1668.

TOTHILL STREET.

186. O. Y^E GOVLDEN . FLEECE . IN = A fleece suspended. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. TVTTLE . STREETE . 57 = E . K . H

TOWER STREET.

187. O. AT . THE . ROSE . TAVERN = A full-blown rose. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. IN . TOWER . STREET = W . M . W

TRINITY LANE.

188. O. MARY . HANSON . AT . Y^E . PETER = AN . PAVL. Busts of St.
 Peter with the keys, and St. Paul with the sword. $\frac{1}{2}$
 R. AND . PAVL . IN . TRINITY . LANE = HER HALFE PENY. 1668.

TURNAGAIN LANE.

189. O. RICHARD . FLEWDE . NEAR = The Bricklayers' Arms. $\frac{1}{2}$
 R. TVRNAGAIN . LANE . BRIDG = R . E . F . $\frac{1}{2}$

TURNMILL STREET.

190. O. PINDAR . OF . WAKE . FEILD = A pindar with staff. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. IN . TVRNMILL . STREETE = R . R . B
 191. O. ISAAC . MARTIN . HIS . HALF . PENNY. 1667. (In five lines.)
 R. IN . TVRNMILL . STREET . I . K . M (In four lines.)
 192. O. THO . PALMER . AT . Y^E = A bell. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. TVRNMILL . STREET = T . I . P

TRUMP ALLEY (*Lawrence Lane*).

193. O. IOSEPH . SCOTT = A bugle-horn. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. IN . TRVMP . ALLEY = I . I . S

WAPPING.

194. O. MATHEW . AWSTAN = A boy holding a pipe. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. ONE . WAPING . WALL = M . E . A
 195. O. ISAAC . BOVLES . VPON . THE = A building. $\frac{1}{4}$
 R. GREEN . BANCK . IN . WAPING = HIS HALF PENY. I . A . B
 196. O. WILLIAM . DVSELL . AT . THE = Bust of a Queen, crowned,
 with orb and sceptre. $\frac{1}{2}$
 R. AT . WAPING . NEW . CRANE . 68 = HIS HALFE PENNY. W . M . D
 197. O. THOMAS . GOONOL . OF — T . K . G $\frac{1}{2}$
 R. WAPPIN . 1666 — HIS HALF PENY.

198. *O.* IOHN . TAYLER . VPON = A hand holding a pair of shears. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. WAPING . WALE . TAYLER = I . E . T
199. *O.* FRANCIS . WINTERBVRN = A bunch of grapes. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . GOVN . ALEY . IN . WAPING = F . M . W

WARWICK LANE.

200. *O.* Richard . Lyon . in . Warwick . Lane. (In four lines script.) $\frac{1}{2}$
R. HIS HALF PENY = A lion rampant, holding a coffee-pot.

WATER LANE.

201. *O.* AT . THE . GVNN . IN = A mounted cannon. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. WATER . LANE . 1658 = I . A . S

WENTWORTH STREET.

202. *O.* WILL . EXEL . BY Y^E . ANTWERP = View of the city of Ant-
R. IN . WENTWORTH . STREETE = W . A . E [werp. $\frac{1}{4}$

WHITECHAPEL.

203. *O.* RICHARD . CVLLINGTON . AT . THE = A lion rampant. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. RED . LION . IN . WHITE . CHAPEL = HIS HALF PENY. R . A . C
 (octagonal).
204. *O.* WILLIAM . FOORD . AT . Y^E . BLAK = A lion rampant. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. LYON . IN . WHITE . CHAPELL . 68 = HIS HALFE PENNY. W . M . F
205. *O.* THOMAS . GROCOCKE . AT . Y^E . SPRED = A double-headed
 eagle, displayed. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. EAGLE . TAVERN . WHITECHAPEL = HIS HALF PENY.
206. *O.* MARGRET . WEST . A^T = An hour-glass. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . WHITE . CHAPPELL = M . W

WOOD STREET.

207. *O.* IOHN . COCK . GROCER = Two keys crossed. I . R . C $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . GREAT . WOOD . STREET . HIS . HALF . PENNY. (In five lines)

WOOLSTAPLE.

208. *O.* WILLIAM . FROST . AT . Y^E = A sword erect. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. VOLSTABLE . WESTMINST = W . S . F

Southwark

AND ITS LOCALITIES.

SOUTHWARK.

209. *O.* AT . THE . RAMS . HEAD = A ram's head. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . SOUTHWARKE . COOKE = M . A . C
 A variety of Boyne, 18, reads on *R.* W . E . B^{al}, and has no date.
210. *O.* JOHN . DYSON . WHEAT = A wheatsheaf. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. SHEAF . SOUTHWARKE . 57 = I . P . F
211. *O.* HUGH . HANDY . CHEESEMONGER = HIS HALFE PENNY. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . SOUTHWARKE . 1666 = A merchant's mark, and H . H
212. *O.* RICHARD . HART . AT . Y^E . KINGS . BENCH . IN . SOUTH . (In
 five lines.) $\frac{1}{2}$
R. WARKE . HIS . HALF . PENNY. 1671. (In four lines across
 the field.)
213. *O.* JOHN . HOLLOWAY = A wheatsheaf. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . SOUTHWARKE = I . H
214. *O.* EDWARD . LOLE = HIS HALF PENY. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . SOUTHWARK . 1666 = A chandler.
215. *O.* WILLIAM . LVCAS = A man holding a club. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . SOUTHWARKE = W . M . L
216. *O.* FRANCIS . MORTIMER = A fox. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . SOUTHWARKE = F . E . M
217. *O.* THE . ROSE . AND . CROWNE = A rose and crown. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . SOUTHWARKE . 1649 = C . P
218. *O.* AT . THE . RAMES . HEAD = A ram's head. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. TAVERN . IN . SOUTHWARKE = I . S . R
219. *O.* JOHN . STANLY . IN = A catherine-wheel. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. SOUTHWARKE . 1656 = I . M . S
220. *O.* WILLIAM . TINDALL = A fleece suspended. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . SOUTHWARKE = W . D . T
221. *O.* ELIZ . WEST . Y^E . 2 . HORS = 1657; two horseshoes above. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. HEWES . SOUTHWARKE = E . W

BANKSIDE.

222. *O.* DANIEL . BARO = A shuttle. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. AT . THE . BANK . SIDE = D . M . B
223. *O.* JOHN . LOVE . ON . THE = St. George and Dragon. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. BANK . SID . SOVTHWARK = I . M . L
224. *O.* HENRY . STILT . AT = The Watermen's Arms. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. THE . BANCK . SIDE . 1666 = H . M . S
225. *O.* EZEKIEL . WORSLEY . AT = A sugar-loaf. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. HORSSHOW . BANCK . SIED = E . E . W . and a horseshoe.

BERMONDSEY.

226. *O.* IOHN . SONE . AT . Y^E . QVARTE = A jug. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. IN . BARNEBY . STRETE . 1668 = HIS HALFE PENNY.

BATTLE BRIDGE.

227. *O.* RICH . ALDER . GINGER . BREAD = BAKER $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
R. SOVTHWARK . NEAR . BRIDG . HOVS = 1669. A baker's pecl.

BLACKMAN STREET.

228. *O.* WILLIAM . COYTE . IN = A dragon. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. BLACK . MAN . STREET = W . A . C

COUNTER LANE.

229. *O.* IOH . WHEELER . BEHIND . THE = Three bell-pulls and a bell.
R. COVNTER . IN . SOVTHWARKE = HIS HALFE PENY . 1669 (*octagonal*).

DEADMAN'S PLACE.

230. *O.* WILLIAM . MORIS = A hart couchant. $\frac{1}{4}$
R. IN . DEDMANS . PLACE = An anchor.

HORSLEYDOWN.

231. *O.* WILLIAM . IONES = CHAND LER. (In two lines.) $\frac{1}{4}$
R. ON . HORSEY . DOWNE = W . M . I
232. *O.* IOHN . KEMP . LIVEING = The Carpenters' Arms. $\frac{1}{2}$
R. UPON . HORSLY . DOWN . 1666 = HIS HALF PENY.

JACOB STREET.

233. *O.* RICHARD . LEE . 1657 = R . E . L ¼
R. IN . IACOB . STREET = Two hands joined.

MONTAGUE CLOSE.

234. *O.* EDWARD . DRAKE . IN . MOVN^{TVG} = AT . Y^E Bust of King
 Charles I. ½
R. CLOSE . IN . SOVTHWARKE . 1668 = HIS HALFE PENY . E . R . D

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH.

- A variety of Elizabeth Hoare, with the date 1665. ¼
 235. *O.* IOHN . ALLAM . IN . S = A shuttle. ¼
R. GEORGES . SOVTHWARK = I . M . A

TOOLEY STREET.

236. *O.* IOHN . HARRIS = A chequered square. ¼
R. IN . TOOLEY . STREET = I . E . H
 237. *O.* WILL . KELIN . AT . Y^E = A swan. ¼
R. S^V . OLIVE . STREET . 1658 = W . A . K
 238. *O.* Thomas Mills. (In two lines script, across the field.)
R. IN . TOVLIS . STREET . 1666 = Bust of Charles I. crowned.

UPPER GROUND.

239. *O.* GILES . COX . IN . THE = A cock. ½
R. VPPER . GROVND . BAKER = G . P . C
 240. *O.* PETER . HENDY . IN . THE . VPER = The Prince of Wales's
 crest and coronet. ½
R. GROVND . IN . SOVTHWARK . 68 = HIS HALFE PENNY . P . I . H

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In the *première livraison* of the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, for 1870, are the following articles :—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and Pieces of Necessity," (sixteenth article,) by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Maillot.
2. "The Question of the International Uniformity of Coinage, from an historical point of view (continuation and end), by M. Maurin Nahuys.
3. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, from the coins," by M. le Baron de Kœhne.
4. Numismatic Curiosities, rare and unpublished coins and medals (fourteenth article), by M. R. Chalon.
5. The Anglo-Saxons and their small deniers, called *sceattas*, an historical and numismatic essay, by M. J. Dirks.
6. The *Tir fédéral* at Zug, 1869, by M. F. Seguin.

In the *Correspondance* are the following letters to M. R. Chalon :—

1. From M. le Baron de Chestret de Haneffe, on some coins of the Seigneurie de Schönau.
2. From M. H. Schuermans, on the coins of Florent de Kailenburg.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various Numismatic publications; and in the *Nécrologie* are recorded the deaths of M. le Comte Maurice le Robiano, of M. J. Sabatier, and of M. C. R. Hermans.

In the *deuxième livraison* are the following articles :—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and Pieces of Necessity, (seventeenth article) by M. Lieut.-Col. P. Maillot.
2. The Mints of the Trivulzi Family, Counts of Misono, &c., by C. F. Trachsel.
3. Recent discoveries of Cufic coins in Sweden, by M. C. J. Tornberg.
4. Numismatic Curiosities, rare and unpublished coins and medals (fifteenth article), by M. R. Chalon.
5. Monetary History of Lausanne. Guy de Praugins (1375—1394). By M. A. Morel Fatio.
6. The Anglo-Saxons and their small deniers, called *sceattas*, an historical and numismatic essay, by M. J. Dirks (second article).

7. A Medal not noticed by Van Loon, by M. J. W. Van der Noordaa.

In the *Correspondance* are the following letters to M. Chalon :—

From M. H. Eltz on coins of John of Bohemia, and of Wenceslas, first Duke of Luxemburg; and from M. W. Voogt on an *écu* attributed by M. Coster to Florent de Pallant, Count of Kuilenburg.

In the *Nécrologie* is a notice of the life and works of M. Sabatier, and a record of the death of M. Sawaskiewicz, the author of works on Oriental Numismatics, published in 1846, and entitled “*La Génie de l’Orient Commenté par ses Monuments Monétaires*.”

In the *troisième livraison* are the following articles :—

1. Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and Pieces of Necessity (eighteenth article), by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Maillet.

2. The Anglo-Saxons and their small deniers, called *sceattas* (third article), by M. J. Dirks.

3. Discoveries of Ancient Coins in Belgium, by M. H. Schuermans.

4. Coins discovered at Glisy, by M. J. Charvet.

5. Medal of St. Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandie, third General of the Society of Jesuits, by M. Jeromino de Vries Jeromino Zoon.

6. Medal of Saint Gommaire of Lierre, by M. le Comte de L. St.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of various recent numismatic publications.

MISCELLANEA.

SALE OF COINS AND MEDALS.—The following collections have been dispersed this season by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, and from them are selected the most important pieces.

THE BURNS CABINET, *December 17 and 18, 1869.* Lot 34. Verulamium *Æ*. VER within a beaded circle, *Erans*, pl. vii. n. 2, —£9 15s. Lot 207. Mary half-testoon, with bust, 1562—£16. Lot 235. Mary lion, 1553, £6 7s. 6d.

THE DRYASDUST CABINET, *December 20 and 21, 1869.* Lot 66. Tranquillina, rev. CONCORDIA AUGG.—£14 7s. Lot 76. Dryantilla,—£20. Lot 237. Philip V., *Æ*. 9, rev. a club—£16 10s. Lot 238. Perseus, *Æ*. 9,—16 10s. Lot 248. Mantinea, *Æ*. 4½, rev. MANTI, head of Apollo,—£21. Lot

261. Smyrna, \mathcal{A} . 10, rev. $\Sigma\text{MYPNAI}\Omega\text{N}$. $\text{MO}\Sigma\text{XO}\Sigma$ in a wreath—£21. Lot 270. Termessus, \mathcal{A} . 7 $\frac{1}{2}$, rev. $\text{AYTONOM}\Omega\text{N}$. \odot .—£6 8s. Lot 276. Aemonia of Elagabalus, \mathcal{A} . 7, rev. semi-draped figure standing—£10 10s. Lot 281. Cleopatra and Marc Antony, \mathcal{A} . 7, *Mt. n.* 266,—£13. Lot 283. Cyrene, \mathcal{A} . 4, a kneeling figure holding a silphium in each hand; rev. incuse,—£16. Lot 296. Rhegium, *n.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, lion's head within a dotted circle; rev. $\text{PHI}\Gamma\text{INON}$, head of Apollo—£10.

THE SAINTHILL CABINET.—*April* 7, 28 and 29, 1870. Lot 51. Syracusan decadrachm, \mathcal{A} . 10, with $\Lambda\Theta\Lambda\Lambda$,—£18. Lot 156. Ceolnoth, Abp. Cantuar. *Rud. n.* 8—£8. Lot 170. Eadweard I., *Rud. n.* 9—£10. Lot 250. Richard III., half-groat, *m. m.* rose and sun impaled—£6 6s. Lot 251. Richard III., half-groat, *m. m.* boar's head—£8 8s. Lot 270. Elizabeth, portcullis crown, half-crown, shilling, and sixpence—£11 5s. Lot 329. George IV. pattern crown, 1829—£25 10s. Lot 334. Victoria pattern Gothic crown, 1846, with plain bodice—£8. Lot 336. Victoria pattern five-pound piece, in silver—£12 12s. Lot 342. Victoria penny, halfpenny, and farthing, in silver—£10 5s. Lot 343. George III. pattern for a crown, 1817, in gold; rev. $\text{CORRUPTA FIDES VERITASQUE}$ —£41. Lot 344. Another, 1817, in gold; rev. FÆDUS INVIOLABILE —£41. Lot 346. George III. pattern half-sovereign, 1816—£19 10s. Lot 352. Victoria proof florin, 1848, in gold—£20 10s.

THE SAMBON CABINET.—*May* 23, 26, 1870. Lot 7. Quincunx, \mathcal{A} . 16, IAT , head issuing from a shell; rev. Pegasus—£11. Lot 31. As, \mathcal{A} . 19, helmeted head of Pallas, full-faced; rev. ROMA. Bull standing to left—£30. Lot 34. Venusia, As, \mathcal{A} . 18, dog's head to left—£10. Lot 55. Macrina, \mathcal{A} . 4, head of Apollo; rev. Ocean legend, dolphin and club—£6. Lot 82. Venosa, \mathcal{A} . 11, bust of Hercules, and VEN. II.; rev. C. A. Q. Dioscuri on horseback—£7 7s. Lot 98. Metapontium, \mathcal{A} . 5, didrachm, female head, with HOMONOIA —£10 2s. 6d. Lot 118. Croton \mathcal{A} . 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, didrachm; rev. Sybarite bull incuse—£11. Lot 147. Agrigentum, \mathcal{A} . 7, ΣTPATON , two eagles holding a hare; rev. ATPATANTINON , quadriga to left—£30. Lot 167. Catanea, \mathcal{A} . 7, AFOAAON , head of Apollo; rev. KATANAION , quadriga to right—£25. Lot 172. Eryx, \mathcal{A} . 7, EPYKINON , Erycinian Venus; rev. quadriga, *Mt. S. vol. i.*—£48. Lot 173. Gela, \mathcal{A} . 7, $\text{TEAA}\Sigma$, Andromorphous bull, in front bulrushes, &c.; rev. quadriga, &c. *Torremuzza*, xxxi. 8—£16. Lot 205. Segesta, \mathcal{A} . 7; rev. $\Sigma\text{EFE}\Sigma\text{TAION}$, young hunter to right *Torre. lxii.* 3—£58. Lot 215. Syracuse, \mathcal{A} . 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, head of Apollo to left; rev.

horse on a pedestal—£32. Lot 222. Syracusan medallion, *Æ*. 11, head of Arethusa, with back hair in a reticulum; rev. quadriga, exergue, AΘAA—£40. Lot 223. Another—£30. Lot 224. Another, with *Εvanetus*—£24 10s. Lot 225. Another, with AΘAA inscribed above the shield in exergue—£47. Lot 228. Syracusæ, *Æ*. 7, full-faced head of Arethusa, and reading AΠΕΘΟΣΑ—£38. Lot 326. Atia, *Æ*. head of Labienus; rev. horse with saddle and bridle—£25. Lot 339. Cassia, *Cohen*, xii. 13, tripod; rev. *Præfericulum*, &c.—£16 5s. Lot 394. Pomponia, *Coh.* xxxiv. 7; rev. the Muse Erato—£17 10. Lot 407. Servilia, M. SERVILIUS. LEG. head of Liberty to right; rev. Q. CAEPIO. BRVTVS. IMP. trophy; this denarius appears unpublished—£15 15s. Lot 440. Brutus, *Coh. Imp.* 4; rev. EID. MAR. cap between daggers—£27. Lot 441. Sextus Pompey, *N. Coh.* 1; rev. PRAEF. &c., bare heads of Pompey and Cnæius—£32. Lot 458. Vitellius, *Æ*.; rev. MARS VICTOR—£48 10s. Lot 467. Hadrian, medallion, 1. *Æ*.; rev. eagle on fulmen between a peacock and owl—£82. Lot 468. Hadrian, medallion, *Æ*.; rev. emperor and Rome standing, &c.—£51. Lot 469. A. Pius, medallion, *Æ*.; rev. nude Mars standing by a trophy, at its base a seated captive—£105. Lot 470. Antoninus Pius, medallion, *Æ*.; rev. COS. III. Diana standing, holding a stag by one of its antlers, *Coh.* vii. n. 40—£61. Lot 471. Faustina, sen. 1. *Æ*.; rev. CONSECRATIO, eagle carrying the deified empress to Olympus—£20. Lot 475. L. Verus, 1, *Æ*.; rev. TR.P.III. &c. Mars standing to right—£25. Lot 476. Commodus, medallion, *Æ*.; rev. FORTVNAE REDVCI, c. v. P.P. the emperor and Fortune sacrificing—£155. Lot 477. Commodus, 1, *Æ*.; rev. TEMPORVM, the four seasons, personified by children, *Coh.* 756—£29. Lot 481x. Severus, *N.*; rev. ADVENT AVGG. Severus, Caracalla and Geta galloping to right—£17 17s. Lot 485. Geta, medallion, *Æ*. unpublished, P. SEPTIMIUS GETA CAESAR PONTIF. COS. bust to left; rev. COS. Geta in slow quadriga to left—£505. Lot 493. Tranquillina, *Æ*.; rev. CONCORDIA AVGG.—£30. Lot 494. Otacilia, 1, *Æ*.; rev. Concord seated—£14 14s. Lot 495. Cornelia Supera, *Æ*.; rev. VESTA, the empress standing—£22. Lot 496. Salonus, Medallion, *Æ*.; rev. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS, the Emperor with a captive at his feet, *Coh.* 64—£80. Lot 500. Julian the tyrant, *N.*; rev. Liberty standing—£32. Lot 504. Constans I. medallion, *Æ*. 11, *Coh.* 3; rev. FELICITAS PERPETVA. three emperors seated—£50. Lot 505. Honoria, *N.*, *tiers du sol*; rev. cross in wreath, *Coh.* 4—£12 12s. Lot 505A. Petronius, *N.*; rev. VICTORI, &c., emperor, full-faced, standing, *Coh.* 1—£18 18s. Lot 505c. Glycerius, *N.*; rev. cross, *Coh.* 6—£11.

XVI.

COINS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST.

(Continued from p. 90.)

BY MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM.

STRATON I.

SOTER, DIKAIOS, EPIPHANES.

B.C. 165—160.

1. O Æ 10. *Didrachmon*. Plate XI., Fig. 1. Author, 134 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on shoulders. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Draped and helmeted figure of Athene Promachos moving to left, with the ægis on left arm, and a thunderbolt in her upraised right hand. In field to left No. 65 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Mahârâjasa pratichhasa trādâtasa Stratasa*.

1a. O Æ 7. *Hemidrachma*. Author, 34 grs. Duplicate, Brit. Mus. Thomas, No. 2.

Types and legends as on No. 1. Monograms, Nos. 17 and 139.

2. O Æ 10. *Didrachmon*. Plate XI., Fig. 2. Brit. Mus., 133·5 grs. Duplicate, Dr. Mackinnon. Thomas, No. 1., from a cast.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to right, with ends of diadem streaming behind, and chlamys on the shoulders. The helmet is ornamented like that of Eukra-

tides, with the horn and ear of a bull. Circular legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Type of Athene Promachos and Arian legend as on No. 1. In field to left No. 139 monogram.

3. O R 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate XI., Fig. 3. Author, 31 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on the shoulders. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Athene Promachos as on No. 1. In field to left No. 100 monogram. Circular Arian legend, *Mahārājasa trādātasa Stratasa*.

3a. O R *Hemidrachma*. Plate XI., Fig. 4. Author, 37 grs. Rude workmanship.

Types and legends the same as on No. 3. In field to right No. 142 monogram, forming ΕΥΞΥ, with the Arian letter *s* to left. I suppose the monogram to be intended for Euthydemia or Sangala in the Panjab.

4. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate XI., Fig. 5. Author, 136 and 125 grs. Duplicates, E. I. Mus., 138 and 126 grs. Thomas, No. 4. Rare.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of the king as Herakles to right, with club over left shoulder, and ends of diadem hanging behind. Legend in three lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

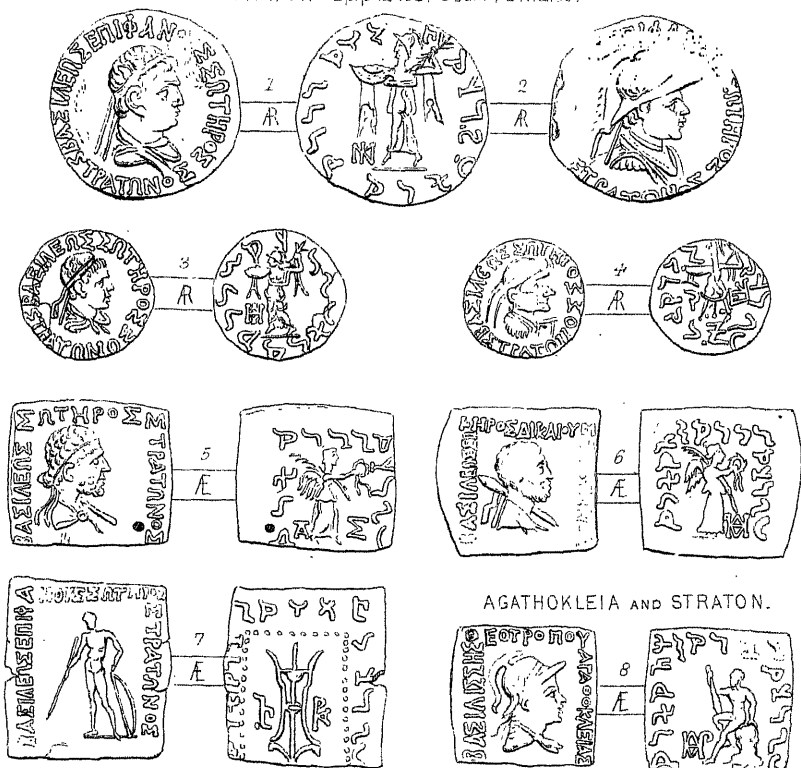
Rev.—Winged figure of Victory, with palm and wreath moving to right. In field to left and right No. 108 monogram. Arian legend on three sides *Mahārājasa trādātasa Stratasa*.

5. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon*. Plate XI., Fig. 6. Brit. Mus. Duplicate, Author, 125 grs. Very rare. Thomas, No. 5.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of the king, as Herakles, to right, with club over left shoulder, and ends of diadem hanging behind. Legend in three lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory with palm and wreath moving to right. In field to right No. 117 monogram. Arian legend in three lines, *Mahārājasa trādātasa dhramikasa Stratasa*.

STRATON Epiphanes, Soter, Dikaios.

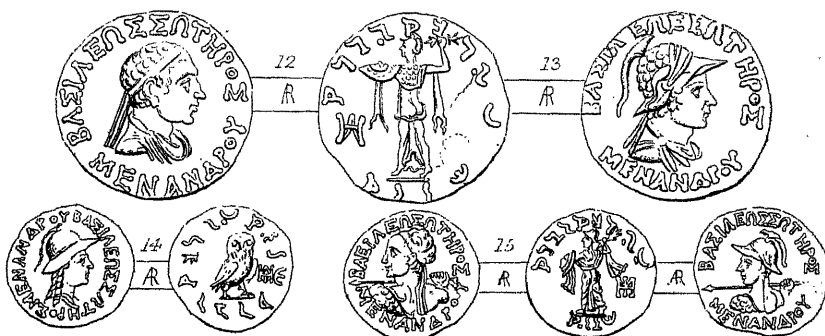


AGATHOKLEIA AND STRATON.

STRATON II. Philopator.



MEMANDER Soter, Dikaios.



6. O Æ 9. *Dichalkon*. Plate XI., Fig. 7. E. I. Mus., from General Abbott. 152 grs. Thomas, No. 3. Four other specimens range from 137 to 145 grs.

Obv.—Standing figure of Apollo inclined to left, with arrow in left hand, and bow in right hand resting on the ground. Legend in three lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Tripod. In field to right No. 17 monogram, and to left the compound Arian character *kra*. Arian legend in three lines, *Muhārājasa pratichhasa trādātasa Stratasa*.

AGATHOKLEIA AND STRATON.

1. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate XI., Fig. 8. Author, 129 grs. Formerly in Dr. Swiney's cabinet. Only three other specimens known, in E. I. Mus., 128 grs.; Brit. Mus., and Mr. E. C. Bayley. Thomas, No. 1.

Obv.—Helmeted female head to right, with chlamys on shoulder, and without diadem. Legend in three lines, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev.—Naked figure of Herakles to left, seated on a rock, and holding a club on his right knee, as on the well-known silver coins of Euthydemus. In field to left No. 101 monogram, as on Fig. 6 of Straton. Arian legend in three lines, *Muhārājasa trādātasa dhramikasa Stratasa*.

N.B.—All the four specimens have *Basilisses*, and not *Basilissas*, as inadvertently engraved by James Prinsep.

STRATON II. PHILOPATOR.

B.C. 160 (?)

1. O Æ *Hemidrachma*. Plate XI., Fig. 9. Author, 36 grs. Extremely rare. Very rude workmanship.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right, with chlamys on shoulder. Circular legend in barbarous Greek letters, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ
ΥΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Rude figure of Athene Promachos to left. Circular Arian legend. *Mahārāja rājarājasa Stratusa putrasa cha sampriyapita Stratusa.*

Fig. 10 has the Arian character *ro*, or *to*, in the field to right; and Fig. 11 has the letters *a* and *bhi* in the field to right and left.

MENANDER. SOTER, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ.

B.C. 160—140.

1. \circ \mathcal{R} 10. *Didrachmon*. Plate XI., Fig. 12. Author, 145 grs. Duplicates, Author and E. I. Mus. Thomas, No. 1. Very rare.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to right. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmeted and draped figure of Athene Promachos to left, with ægis on left arm, and thunderbolt in upraised right hand. In field to left No. 90 monogram. Other monograms are No. 89 with Σ, and No. 139. Circular Arian legend, *Mahārājasa trādātasa Menandrasa.*

1a. \circ \mathcal{R} 7. *Hemidrachma*. Author; average weight 36 grs. Common. Thomas, No. 1a.

Obverse and reverse types and legends as on No. 1. Various monograms, Nos. 58, 86, 88, 89 with the letters Γ, Ε, and Σ, 90, 91, 92, 95; and Nos. 22, 94, and 95 of Thomas.

2. \circ \mathcal{R} 10. *Didrachmon*. Plate XI., Fig. 13. Author, 146 grs. Duplicates, Lady Headfort and Dr. Campbell. Extremely rare. Thomas, No. 3.

Obv.—Helmeted and diademed head of king to right. Greek legend, as on No. 1.

Rev.—Type and legend as on No. 1. In field to left No. 58 monogram.

2a. \circ \mathcal{R} 7. *Hemidrachma*. Average weight 36 grs. Common. Thomas, No. 3a.

Types and legends as on No. 2. Various monograms, Nos. 17, 18, 58, 86, 89 with Σ, 92, and No. 22c. of Thomas.

3. \circ \mathcal{R} 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate XI., Fig. 14. Author, 28 grs., from Major Pearse, found in the temple of Mārtand,

in Kashmir. Duplicates, Mr. E. C. Bayley, and two others. Extremely rare. Thomas, No. 5.

Obv.—Helmeted head of Athene to right with long curls, and without diadem. Surrounded by Greek legend as on No. 2.

Rev.—Owl standing to right. In field to right No. 58 monogram. Arian legend as on No. 1. On Mr. Bayley's coin the monogram is No. 18.

4. \circ \mathcal{A} 10. *Didrachmon*. From a sealing-wax impression. See Plate XI., Fig. 15 for types. Extremely rare. Thomas, No. 2.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to left, with ægis on left shoulder, and grasping a javelin in upraised right hand. Circular legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Athene Promachos to left, with ægis on left arm, and thunderbolt in upraised right hand. Circular Arian legend, *Mahārājasa trādātasa Menandrasa*.

4a. \circ \mathcal{A} 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate XI., Fig. 15. Author, average weight 36 grs. Extremely common. Thomas, No. 2.

Types and legends as on No. 4. In field to right No. 86 monogram. Other monograms are Nos. 17, 18, 58, 87, and 89 with Σ.

N.B.—On some specimens the figure of Athene is turned to the right, and the ægis is horizontal. See *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., fig. 1, and Thomas, No. 2b. On some specimens also the legends are continuous round the coin, instead of having the name placed below.

5. \circ \mathcal{A} 7. *Hemidrachma*. Plate XI., Fig. 16. From Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., fig. 2. Duplicate, Royal Asiatic Soc. Thomas, No. 4.

Obv.—Helmeted and diademed head of the king to left, with ægis on left shoulder, and javelin in upraised right hand, ready to dart. Greek legend as on No. 1.

Rev.—Athene Promachos, and Arian legend as on No. 1. In field to right No. 58 monogram.

6. \square \mathcal{A} 11. *Obolus*. Plate XII. Fig. 1. Author, 679 grs.

Duplicates, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 656 grs.; Brit. Mus., 550 grs. Much worn. Thomas, No. 6.

Obv.—Helmeted head of Pallas Athene to right, with long curls, and without diadem. Legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Horse rearing to right. In field below No. 58 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, *Mahārājasa trādātasa Menandrasa*.

7. □ Æ 7. *Chalkous*. Plate XII., Fig. 2. Author, 82 grs. Duplicate, Author. Rare. Ariana Antiqua, pl. iv., fig. 7. Thomas, No. 9.

Obv.—Helmeted head of Pallas to right, with long curls, as on No. 6. Greek legend on three sides, as on No. 6.

Rev.—Athene Promachos to left, with ægis on left arm, and thunderbolt in upraised right hand, as on the silver coins. In field to left No. 86 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 6. Duplicate, No. 88 monogram.

8. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon*. Plate XII., Fig. 3. E. I. Mus., from General Abbot. 125 grs. Other specimens 131 and 127 grs. Ariana Antiqua, pl. iv., fig. 12. Thomas, No. 12.

Obv.—Helmeted head of Pallas Athene to right, and Greek legend, as on No. 6.

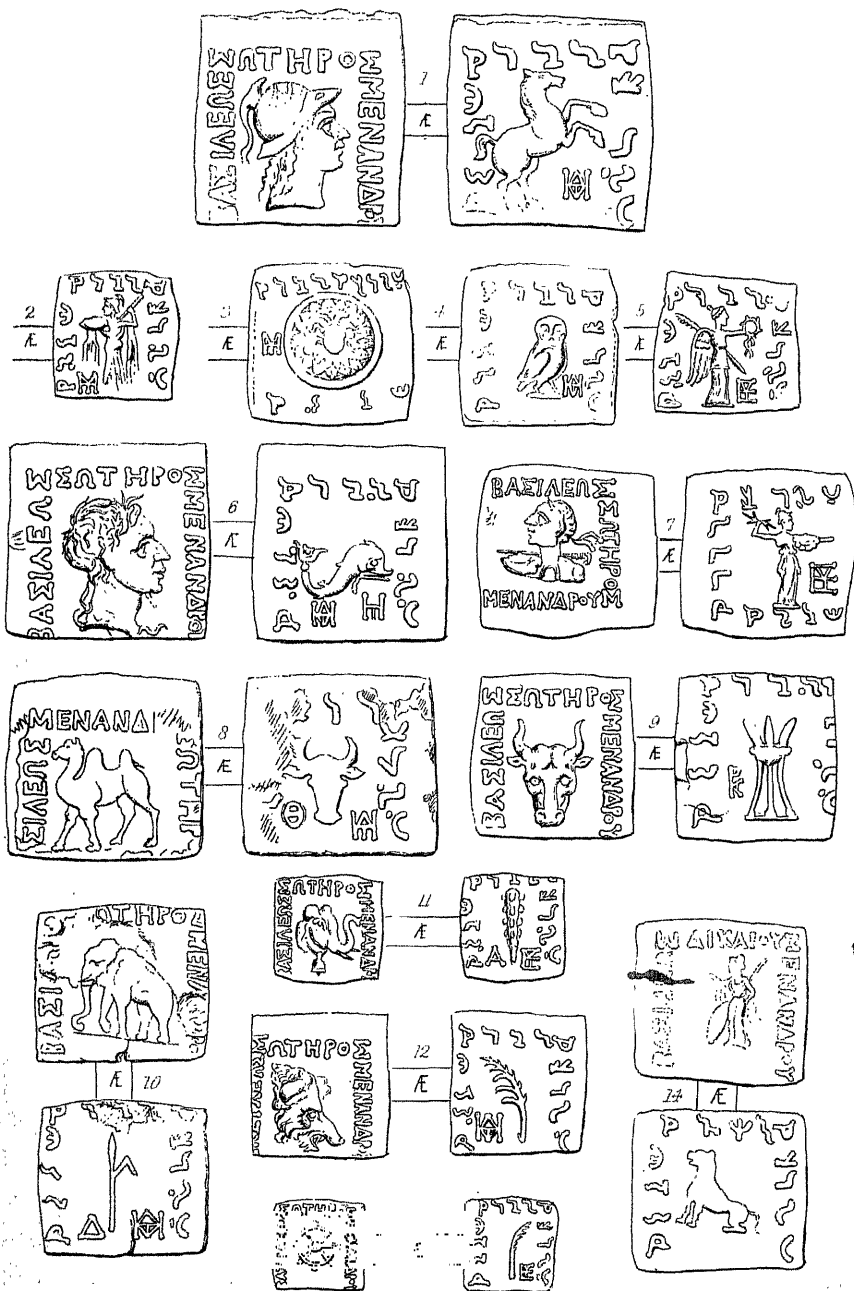
Rev.—Ægis to front, with Gorgon's head in the middle. In field to left No. 86 monogram. Arian legend in two horizontal lines, as on No. 6. This legend is usually distributed on three sides, as on the other square copper coins already described.

9. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon*. Plate XII., Fig. 4. Author, 147 grs. Duplicate, E. I. Mus., 144 grs. Ariana Antiqua, pl. iv., fig. 8. Thomas, No. 11.

Obv.—Helmeted head of Pallas Athene to right, and Greek legend, as on No. 6.

Rev.—Owl standing to right. In field to right No. 58 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 6.

MENANDER.



85 Lees. D. var.

PLATE XX.

10. □ Æ 9. *Trichalkon* (?) See Plate XII., Fig. 5, for type. Author, 246 and 240 grs. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., figs. 5 and 6. Thomas, No. 10.

Obv.—Helmeted head of Pallas Athene to right, with long curls, and Greek legend, as on No. 6.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory moving to right, holding a palm branch in her left hand, and a wreath in her right hand. In field below No. 58 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as on No. 6.

10a. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Author, 148 grains.

Types and legends as on No. 10. No. 58 monogram.

10b. □ Æ 7. *Chalkous*. Plate XII., Fig. 5. Author, 91, 79, and 70 grs.

Types and legends as on No. 10. Nos. 20 and 58 monograms.

10c. □ Æ 7. *Chalkous*. Author, 91 and 83 grs. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., fig. 4. Thomas, No. 10a.

Types and legends as on No. 10; but the figure of Victory is turned to the left. No. 58 monogram with B, and on the other specimen the letter B only.

11. □ Æ 10. *Hemiobolus*. Plate XII., Fig. 6. E. I. Mus., 340 grs. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., fig. 3. Thomas, No. 8.

Obv.—Laurelled head of king to right, with the ends of the diadem floating over the shoulders to right and left. Greek legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Dolphin to right. In field below No. 58 monogram with the letter H. Arian legend on three sides, *Mahārâjasa trâlâtasa Menandrasa*.

12. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon*. Plate XII., Fig. 7. Author, 124 grs. Duplicates, author, 148 grs.; E. I. Mus., 131 grs. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., fig. 7. Thomas, No. 9.

Obv.—Bare diademed head of king to left, with ægis on left shoulder, and javelin in upraised right hand, ready to dart. Greek legend on three sides, as on No. 8.

Rev.—Athene Promachos to right, with ægis and thunder-bolt, as on the silver coins. In field to right No. 20 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as usual.

13. □ Æ 10. *Hemiobolus*. Plate XII., Fig. 8. Museum Bengal Asiat. Soc. 306 grs. Unique.

Obv.—Two-humped Bactrian camel moving to left. Greek legend on three sides, as usual.

Rev.—Head of bull to front, with long horns and extended ears. In field below No. 58 monogram with letter Θ. Arian legend on three sides, as usual.

14. □ Æ 9. *Hemiobolus*. Plate XII., Fig. 9. Author, 313 grs. Duplicates, author, 341, 303, 292, 280 grs.; Brit. Mus., 316 grs. Thomas, No. 7.

Obv.—Head of bull to front, with long horns and extended ears. Greek legend on three sides, as usual.

Rev.—Tripod. In field to left No. 17 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as usual.

On other specimens, with No. 58 monogram accompanied by the Arian letter *m*, the horns of the bull are very short.

15. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon*. Plate XII., Fig. 10. Author, 167 grs. Duplicate, Mr. E. C. Bayley, 176 grs. The only two specimens known. Thomas, No. 17.

Obv.—Indian elephant moving to left. Greek legend on three sides, as usual.

Rev.—Elephant goad, called *ankûs*, placed upright. In field to right No. 58 monogram, and to left the letter Δ. Arian legend on three sides, as usual.

16. □ Æ 6. *Lepton*. Plate XII., Fig. 11. Author, 36 grs. Very common. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., fig. 10. Thomas, No. 14. Heavy specimens range up to 44 and 46 grs., but the average is under 40 grs.

Obv.—Head of elephant to right, with a bell suspended from the neck. Greek legend on three sides, as usual.

Rev.—Club of Herakles placed upright. In field to right No. 20 monogram, and to left the letter Α. Arian legend on three sides, as usual.

Other specimens have Nos. 18 and 58 monograms, both accompanied by the letter A. A few specimens have the Arian letter *san*, with the Greek A on the obverse; and a single coin has the Arian letter *nan*, with the Greek A, both on obverse and reverse.

17. □ Æ 8. *Dichalkon*. Plate XII., Fig. 12. Author, 152 grs. Duplicate, E. I. Mus. Only these two specimens known. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., fig. 9. Thomas, No. 13.

Obv.—Head of boar, with open mouth, to right. Greek legend on three sides, as usual.

Rev.—Palm branch placed upright and bent to left. In field to left No. 58 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as usual.

18. □ Æ 5. *Hemilepton*? Plate XII., Fig. 13. E. I. Mus. Unique. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iv., fig. 11. Thomas, No. 15.

Obv.—Wheel of eight spokes. Greek legend on three sides as usual.

Rev.—Upright palm branch with top bent to left. In field to right No. 20 monogram. Arian legend on three sides, as usual.

19. □ Æ 9. *Dichalkon*. Plate XII., Fig. 14. Author, 124 grs. Much worn. Duplicates, Brit. Mus., and Bodleian Library, Oxford, 89 grs. See R. Rochette, in *Jour. des Sav.*, Dec. 1838, p. 751, and pl. i., fig. 8. Thomas, No. 16.

Obv.—Pallas Athene standing to the front, with her right hand extended before her, a spear in her left hand, and her shield resting on the ground at her right knee. Greek legend on three sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Indian lion to left resting on his haunches. Arian legend on three sides, *Mahārājasa dhramikasa Menandrasa*.

The Bodleian specimen has No. 139 monogram under the lion.

STRATON I. (Epiphanes, Soter, Dikaios) B.C. 165—160.

Amongst the many competitors of Eukratides, the only one who would appear to have been ultimately successful

was Straton, whom I conjecture to have been a son of Demetrius, and to have held the government of the Eastern Panjâb during the reigns of his brother Lysias and his nephew Antialkidas. After the death or deposition of the latter, I conclude that Straton must have been tributary to Eukratides; but immediately after the murder of that great prince I suppose him to have asserted his independence, and to have become at once the undisputed master of the Panjâb.

There is no mention of Straton in history; and I must, therefore, again claim indulgence for the few remarks which I have to offer about this prince, as they are founded solely on the inferences which have been deduced from his coins. But his coins are rare, and the types are few; and the principal fact which I have discovered in his career is due to a fortunate accident. In Plate VI. Fig. 11, I have engraved a copper piece of Heliokles, which has been struck over a previous type of Straton, whose name is still legible in Arian letters on the reverse. I am now able to refer to a copper coin of Straton himself, which has been struck over a type of Heliokles, whose name in Greek appears on the reverse, instead of the Arian title of *Mahârdjasa*. This mutual restriking of each other's coins shows that these two princes must certainly have been contemporaries, as well as near neighbours. This is a most important fact in the history of Straton, as it places him amongst the earliest of the Greek kings of India, contemporary with Heliokles and Apollodotus, the sons of Eukratides.

The types of Straton are few in number, and of no special significance. On the silver coins we find only the figure of Athene Promachos, which was copied from the money of Apollodotus. On the earlier copper coins with

the simple title of Soter, the king is represented on the obverse as Herakles, with a short beard, and a club over his left shoulder, and is accompanied by a figure of Victory on the reverse. The same types accompany the title of Dikaïos; but with the more ambitious title of Epiphanes, we find the types of Apollo and the Tripod exactly similar to those on the well-known copper money of Apollodotus. The head of Herakles with his club very probably connects Straton with Demetrius and Lysias, who use the same type; and, if Lysias, as I suppose, was a son of Demetrius, this inference is strengthened by the use of the seated figure of Herakles on the coins of Straton's wife, Agathokleia, similar to that on the well-known silver coins of Euthydemus.

I have not been able to trace the find-spots of more than twenty, or just one half, of the specimens of Straton's coins that are known to me. None were found by Masson at Begrâm, and only three out of the twenty coins traced were obtained to the west of the Indus. Of these one was purchased at Jalalabad, the second at Peshâwar, and the third by myself at Akora. Of the remainder, sixteen were obtained in the Panjâb, and one to the east of the Satlej.

Of the base silver coins of Straton of rude workmanship no less than ninety-six were found in a mound at Mathura, along with eighty-seven similar coins of the Indian Satrap, Râjubul or Ranjubul.¹ But as the hoard must have been hidden during the reign of the Satrap,

¹ See Jour. Bengal Asiat. Soc., 1854, pl. xxxv., figs. 8, 9, 10. I selected 50 of them, and Mr. Thomas got the remainder, 81 in number; so that the whole find was 134 coins, and not 133, as shown to me at Mathura in 1853. See Prinsep's Essays by Thomas, ii. 197, *ntoe*.

the find may only show that the dominions of Straton bordered on the kingdom of Mathura, somewhere to the east of the Satej.

The *monograms* of Straton are numerous, considering the rarity of his coins. On thirty specimens which I have examined, I have found no less than ten different monograms. According to my readings, three of these, Nos. 17, 65, and 139, belong to Karsana, Nikaia, and Alexandria Opiane, all in the Upper Kabul valley. Together, they form about one-third of the whole number of monograms. No. 58, which I read as Demetrias, and which was most probably either Peshâwar or Penkelaotis, is the commonest of all, forming just one-third of the thirty monograms which I have recorded. Of the remaining third, No. 108 is found on one coin, which is engraved in the accompanying Plate XI. Fig. 5. No. 142 is found on the ruder silver coins, and No. 46 upon two specimens in the possession of Colonel Bush. Upon a single specimen I find a monogram similar to No. 56, forming ΑΗΙΟΑΛΟϵας for Apollonia.

On comparing these monograms with those of Heliokles I find that three of them are common to both princes, namely, Nos. 17, 65, and 139, all of which, according to my readings, belong to places in the Upper Kabul valley. Thus these three monograms, if my explanation of them is correct, prove that Heliokles and Straton, who were certainly contemporaries, must have disputed the possession of the Upper Kabul valley. For some time, at least, these cities must have been held by Straton, as most of his good silver coins, and nearly all of his Apollo and Tripod copper coins, were minted at one or other of them.

The connection with Lysias, which I have inferred from the type of Herakles, is partly confirmed by the

common use of No. 108 monogram, which is found only on the coins of Lysias, Antialkidas, and Straton. I read this monogram as Taxila, the ancient capital of the Panjâb; but Straton's own capital would appear to have been Demetrias, as one-third of his coins bear No. 58 monogram. His kingdom would, therefore, have extended from Peshâwar on the west, to Sangala or Euthydemia on the east, as shown by the use of No. 142 monogram, which I read as EYΘY for *Euthydemia*. This last monogram is found only on the ruder silver coins of Straton, of which a favourable specimen is engraved in Plate XI. Fig. 4. The inferior workmanship is probably due to the ruder art of the Indian mint on the eastern frontier. At first I was inclined to assign all these rude coins to Straton II., who bore the title of Philopator; but as the rude Soter coins are generally superior in execution to the Philopator coins, and are at least equal to the ruder specimens of Zoilus, which bear the same monogram, I think that they must belong to the elder Straton.

On putting together these few scanty indications derived from the coins, I gather that Straton was most probably connected with the family of Demetrius and Lysias; that after the murder of Eukratides he made himself independent, and reigned over the Panjâb, contemporary with Heliokles in Bactria and Kabul, and with Apollodotus in Afghanistan and Sindh. As his coins are very rare, his reign must have been a short one—say, of about five years, or from B.C. 165 to 160—when he was succeeded by Menander, whom I suppose to have been his son. During the first year of his reign he was probably employed in consolidating his power against the attacks of Apollodotus; but shortly afterwards he must

have been engaged in a successful invasion of the Kabul valley, as the monograms of Karsana (No. 17), Ophiana (No. 139), and Nikaia or Kabul (No. 65), are found upon many of his coins, as well as upon those of his contemporary, Heliokles.

AGATHOKLEIA AND STRATON.

Of the coins of Agathokleia only four specimens of the same type are at present known. On the obverse the queen is represented helmeted as Pallas-Athene, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ. The reverse has a figure of Herakles seated on a rock, with his club resting on his knee, as on the silver coins of Euthydemus. But the Arian legend gives the name and titles of Straton. The curious epithet, *Theotropos*, applied to the queen, is not found in any of the Lexicons; but Lassen has pointed out that it is used by Heliodôrus as an epithet of ζῆλος, "rivalry, emulation."² Applied to the queen, it may mean simply the "godlike"; but, if I am right in supposing that Agathokleia was a niece or daughter of Demetrius, it is not improbable that *Theotropos* may have some reference to the title of *Theos*, which was borne by Euthydemus, the father of Demetrius.

The connection between Straton and Agathokleia can only be that of man and wife, or king and queen, and from her name thus appearing on the money it may be assumed that she was of royal descent. Her marriage with Straton may thus perhaps have united two rival families, which may have been either two branches of the family of Euthydemus, or the antagonistic families of

² Carm. v. 250.

Demetrius and Eukratides. If Agathokleia was a niece of Demetrius, and Straton his son, their marriage would have united two rival branches of the family of Euthydemus, and have given strength to their party against Eukratides. But if Straton and Agathokleia were not of the same family, I should incline to make Straton either a son or brother of Eukratides.

STRATON II. (Philopator), B.C. 160.

In assigning certain coins to a second prince of this name, it is necessary that I should state in full the reasons which have influenced me in thus creating a new prince, instead of giving all the coins which bear the name of Straton to the one king who was previously known. The coins which I attribute to Straton II. are small pieces of silver, of rude workmanship, with legends on both sides differing from those on the well-known coins of Straton, the husband of Agathokleia. In the Greek legend the name of Straton occurs twice; once in the usual place under the head of the king, and again on the right hand before the face. The legend is difficult to read in parts; but from a comparison of six specimens it appears to be ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΩΤΗΡ•C CTPATΩΝ•C ΥΙ•Υ CTPATΩΝ•C; that is, "of King Straton Soter, the son of Straton." In the Arian legend of the reverse there occurs the new title of *priyapita*, which is a perfect translation of the Greek *Philopator*. Some portions of the legend are rather indistinct; but from a comparison of the six specimens I read the whole as *Mahārājasa trāddātasa Stratasa putrasa cha sampriyapitasa Stratasa*; that is, "of King Straton Soter, the son of, and lover of his father, Straton."

It is difficult to say what position the younger Straton

may have held; but I conjecture that, as the eldest son, he was associated with his father in the kingdom, and was probably left in charge of the eastern provinces of the Panjâb, when the elder Straton entered on his campaign against Heliokles in the Upper Kabul valley. On the death of his father, about B.C. 160, he may have been either supplanted at once, or for a time left in charge of the eastern provinces, by his brother Menander. The coins themselves offer no further clue to his history. My six specimens were all found together in the Panjâb along with rude specimens of Straton I. and Zoïlus. On one of them there are the Arian letters *a + bhi* forming *abhi*, which is a pure Sanskrit word, and may be either the beginning of a man's name, or of the district of *Abhisdra*, to the south-west of Kashmir, or of *Abhinagara* or *Abhor* to the east of the Satlej. Two specimens have the Arian letter *ro*, or *to*, in the field, and the other three have no monogram.

At present our materials are too scanty to enable us to do more than offer a mere conjectural sketch of the probable career of Straton and his eldest son. But with the discovery of more coins it may be hoped that some light will be thrown upon the family connections, as well as on the extent of country over which they ruled.

MENANDER (Soter, Dikaios), B.C. 160—140.

The coins of Menander are more numerous than those of any other Greek prince of the East. I have recorded the monograms of eight hundred and ninety-three different specimens, but I have examined altogether more than one thousand coins. Of these, one hundred and fifty-three were obtained by Masson at different times from the plain

of Bagrâm to the north of Kabul, and one hundred and eight in one find from Western Hazâra. I have traced seventy others to Kabul, sixteen to Jalalabad, and two to Peshâwar, making altogether three hundred and forty-nine coins found to the west of the Indus. Captain Hutton got nine silver coins at Kabul, but "not a single specimen from Sistan or Kandahar," although he had resided for a long time at both places. So also Colonel Stacy "did not find a single coin of Menander at Kandahar" (where he lived for two years), "but got them when he reached Kabul." From this evidence it is certain that Menander could not have possessed any part of Arachosia or Drangiana, and that his dominions to the west of the Indus must have been confined to the Kabul valley and Eastern Afghanistan.

Large collections of the coins of Menander have also been made in the Panjâb. Wilson³ thought that they might have been "brought there for sale;" but although this is undoubtedly the case at present, it was not so when Ventura made his collection in the Panjâb, at the very same time that Masson and Honigberger were collecting in the Kabul valley. Neither was it the case during the British occupation of Kabul, at which time Captain Nuttall made his collection in the Panjâb. In General Abbott's collection, now in the East India Museum, which was made in the North-West Panjâb between 1846 and 1857, there are ninety-eight coins of Menander; and since the beginning of 1859 I have myself received no less than two hundred and forty-four coins of Menander from the Panjâb. How many of these may have been brought from Kabul it is impossible to say; but my impression is that the coins

³ *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 281.

of Menander are perhaps nearly as common in the Panjâb as they are in the Kabul valley. Even to the east of the Satlej they are not uncommon, as I have at different times procured no less than nineteen specimens at Mathura, and ten specimens at other places in North India. Mr. Thomas also obtained twenty-nine specimens from Râmpur. Altogether, including Tod's specimen from Buteswar, on the Jumna, and Dr. Swiney's from Subâthlu, no less than sixty coins of Menander have been found in different places to the east of the Satlej.

Putting together all the indications afforded by the find-spots of his coins, I conclude that the rule of Menander must have been firmly established in the Panjâb and Kabul valley; that it was extended by conquest to the eastward as far as Mathura, on the Jumna, and that it most probably embraced the greater part of North-West India.

The *monograms*, according to my readings, give much the same information. Out of eight hundred and ninety-three monograms there are two hundred and seventy-four, or nearly one-third, of Demetrias (No. 58) in the Lower Kabul valley; and two hundred and thirty-seven, or rather more than one-fourth, of Dionysopolis (No. 18), in the middle Kabul valley; while there are only thirty-eight of Karsana (No. 17), and none of Ophiana, in the upper Kabul valley. The readings of the remaining monograms are more or less doubtful; but several of them certainly belong to places in the Panjâb and lower Kabul valley, as they are also found on the coins of Antimachus, Lysias, and Antialkidas, whose rule did not extend to Kabul. Of No. 89, which I read as *Heliopolis*, and identify with Taxila, there are fifty-four coins; of No. 86 there are eighty-eight coins; and of No. 89 there are forty-one coins; or altogether more than one-fifth of the whole

number. There are also twelve examples of No. 142 monogram, which I read as Euthydemia, in the eastern Panjâb; and thirty-five specimens of No. 91, which I read as Multân, and which was undoubtedly some place in the Panjâb, as it is found on the coins of the Indo-Scythian king, Moas, whose rule did not extend to the westward of the Indus.⁴

From this examination of the monograms it would appear that Demetrias, in the lower Kabul valley, was the chief mint of Menander, and that his rule must have extended from Kabul to Sangala, or Euthydemia, in the eastern Panjâb.

On comparing these deductions with the few notices of Menander which have been preserved by ancient authors, it is satisfactory to find that they are fully confirmed by history. Our principal authority is Strabo, who derived his information from the Parthian History of Apollodorus of Artamita. According to him, "the Greeks who caused the revolt of Bactriana, became so powerful by means of the fertility and advantages of the country, according to Apollodorus of Artamita, that they made themselves masters of Ariana and India. Some of these princes subdued more nations than Alexander himself; particularly Menander, who, crossing the Hypanis, penetrated eastward as far as the Isamus."⁵ It is no doubt this expedition of Menander that is referred to in the epitome

⁴ Altogether there are 280 coins which may be assigned to the Panjâb.

⁵ Geogr. xi. 11, 1. Τοσοῦτον δὲ ἰσχυσαν οἱ ἀποστήσαντες Ἕλληνες αὐτὴν (Bactriana), διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας, ὥστε τῆς Ἀριανῆς ἐπεκράτουν, καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀρταμιτηνός, καὶ πλείω ἔθνη, κατεστρέψαντο ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ μάλιστα Μένανδρος. Ἐγένετο καὶ τὸν Ὑπανιν (οἱ Ὑπασιν) διέβη πρὸς ἑω, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰσάμου προῆλθε.

of Trogus, "*Indicæ quoque res additæ, gestæ per Apollodotum et Menandrum, reges eorum.*"⁶ In these two passages we have the fullest confirmation of the Indian conquests of Menander, which I have already deduced from the find-spots of his coins. Unfortunately the *Isamus* River, mentioned by Strabo, is quite unknown. Mannert proposed to change the name to *Jomanes*, or the Jumna, an alteration which Lassen considers as "perhaps necessary." Tod identified it with the *Isan*, which flows down to the Doab between the Ganges and Jumna; but the *Isan* is an insignificant stream, which is not likely to have been mentioned as the limit of the Greek conquests in India. I would propose to read *Soamos*, or the *Son*, a large river that joins the Ganges just above Patna, or the classical Palibothra, which according to an ancient native authority was actually captured by the Greeks.

This important fact was discovered by Dr. Kern in a fragment of the *Gārgi-Sanhita* of the astronomer, Garga, the approximate date of which work he assigns to B.C. 50.⁷ After mentioning Sālisuka, one of the Maurya princes who died in B.C. 200, Garga says:—

Tatah Sāketamākramasya Panchālān Mathurān tathā
Yavana dushtavikrāntāh prāsyaṇti Kusumadhvajam
Tatah Pushpapure prāpte Kardame(?) prathite hite(?)
Akulā viśayāh sarve bhaviśyanti na Saṅśayah.

"Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing *Sāketa*, *Panchāla*-country, and *Mathura*, will reach (or

⁶ Prolog. xli. Bayer, in *Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact.*, p. 77, gives this passage somewhat differently. "*Indiæ quoque additæ res gestæ per Apollodotum et Menandrum reges.*"

⁷ Preface to "*Brihat Sanhita*" of Varāha Mikira, p. 40. Garga is one of the oldest of the Hindu astronomers, and is repeatedly quoted by Varāha.

take) *Kusumadhvajā* (Palibothra) * * * *Pushpapura* (Palibothra) being reached (or taken) all provinces will be in disorder undoubtedly." On which Dr. Kern remarks:—"So then we see in a Sanskrit work the confirmation of the records of the Greek historians, that the Bactrian kings led their victorious armies far into the heart of Hindustan." This passage is specially valuable for the details which it gives of the Greek conquests. *Sāketa* is Oudh, *Panchāla* is the Gangetic Doab and Rohilkhand, and *Mathura* is the chief city of a large tract of country to the south and west of the Jumna.

Another native authority for the Greek conquests in India has been found by Professor Goldstücker in Patanjali's Commentary on Pāṇini,⁸ where he says—"The *Yavana* (or Greek) besieged *Ayodhya*; the *Yavana* besieged the *Mādhyamikas*." *Ayodhya* is the Sanskrit form of the vernacular name of Oudh, and the *Mādhyamikas* are the people of *Madhya-deśa*,⁹ or the "middle country," that is, of the Gangetic provinces above the Delta. The exact date of Patanjali is not known; but as his Commentary was introduced into Kashmir in the beginning of the first century after Christ,¹⁰ he must have flourished some time earlier. On this point Professor Goldstücker very ingeniously, and I think justly, refers to the use of the imperfect tense in the phrase, "the *Yavanas* besieged *Ayodhya*," as a proof that Patanjali was contemporary with the event.¹¹ He bases his opinion on the fact that Patanjali gives the phrase as an illustration of the state-

⁸ Goldstücker's Pāṇini, p. 230. "Arundyavanah Sāketam; arundyavano Mādhyamikān."

⁹ See Kern's Brihat Sanhita, xiv. 2.

¹⁰ Raja Tarangini, i. 176.

¹¹ Pāṇini, p. 229.

ment of the earlier grammarian, Kātyāyana, that the imperfect tense is used "when the fact related is out of sight, notorious, but *could be seen by the person* who uses the verb."

Here, then, we have two distinct Sanskrit authorities for the fact of the Greek conquest of *Ayodhya* and *Madhyadesa*, of whom the first was most probably contemporary with the event, and the other not more than one century later. According to the later account the Greeks actually captured Palibothra. In the original Sanskrit, the statement of this interesting fact is followed by three corrupt words, "*Kardame, prathite, hite*," of which Dr. Kern¹² remarks that they "look as if they contain the name of the Greek king, and it is most tantalising that they are so badly preserved." But as *Kardama* is a pure Sanskrit name, it is possible that it may be intended for the King of Palibothra, although no such name is given in the royal lists of Magadha. In these lists, however, we have the name of Pushpamitra, who reigned for thirty-six years, or from B.C. 178 to 142, and who was, therefore, a contemporary of Menander. Now, in one of the Hindu dramas,¹³ this very prince is said to have let loose a horse, that it might wander free for twelve months, previous to the performance of the *Aswamedha*, or "Horse-sacrifice." The horse was attended by a guard under the command of his grandson, Vasumitra, who, whilst following the victim on the bank of the Sindhu river, was attacked by a party of Yavana cavalry, which was defeated by the young prince after a sharp conflict.

Wilson supposed that the Sindhu river here mentioned

¹² Preface to *Brihat Sanhita*, p. 38.

¹³ *Mālavikāgnimitra*, in Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, vol. ii. p. 353.

was the Indus ; but as Pushpamitra and his son Agni-mitra are called the rulers of Vidisâ, which is described as lying to the north of the Vindhya mountains, and as bounded by the kingdom of Vidarbha or Berar on the south, the Sindhu of the drama cannot possibly be the Indus. The great Indus also flows from north to south, and has no *south bank*, on which the skirmish with the Yavana cavalry, as described by Pushpamitra, could have taken place. There are several rivers of this name in North-western India ; but the only one which has a south bank is the famous Sindhu of Narwar, which has been celebrated by Bhavabhuti in another Hindu drama.¹⁴ This stream has its source in the Vindhyan mountains, and after flowing to the north as far as the great fort of Narwar, it turns suddenly to the east-north-east for 100 miles, and joins the Jumna almost due west from Cawnpore. This well-known stream was once the boundary between the great Chohân empire of Delhi and the Chândel kingdom of Mahoba, and it still forms a sharp line of demarcation between the states of Rajputana and Bundelkhand. In the tenth and eleventh centuries it was also the boundary of the Hindu kingdom of Mathura towards the south. I conclude, therefore, that in the time of Menander it was most probably the boundary between his conquered province of *Mathura*, and the independent Indian state of *Vidisa*, or Bhilsa, on the south.

In the Buddhist history of the Tibetan author, Târânâth, the "first invasion of India by foreigners" is said to have taken place during the reign of Pushyamitra.¹⁵ If this

¹⁴ Wilson's Hindu Theatre, vol. ii. pp. 51, 95. "*Mâlâtî and Madhava*."

¹⁵ French translation of Vassilief's Russian translation, p. 50, *note*. "On voit que c'est dans ce temps qu'arriva dans l'Inde

king is the same as the Pushpamitra of the Brahmans and Buddhists, this invasion of "foreigners" must refer to the conquest of the Greeks under Menander. Târânâth specially mentions that they advanced as far as Magadha, which agrees exactly with the account of Garga, as Pali-bothra was the capital of Magadha. The Tibetan author's chronology is too confused to offer any sure clue to the date of Pushyamitra; but as we know of no foreign invasion of the banks of the Ganges before the time of Menander, it seems most probable that Târânâth's Pushyamitra is the same king as the Pushpâmitra of the Purânas. This identification is of importance, as Târânâth fixes the invasion of India five years before the death of Pushyamitra, and as Pushpâmitra of the Purânas died in B.C. 142, the invasion of India must have taken place in B.C. 147.

Such is the account which we derive from the native Sanskrit authorities regarding the extent of the Greek conquests in India. It adds many important details to the classical notices of Strabo and Trogus, and fully confirms the deductions which I have made from the find-spots of Menander's coins. But the information regarding Menander to be derived from native authorities is not confined to his conquests. In the *Milinda-prasna*,¹⁶ or

la première invasion d'étrangers, qui furent nommés *Tirtika* ou hérétiques. Après avoir commencé la guerre contre Poucheiamitra, ils brûlèrent une quantité de temples, dit-on, en commençant depuis Djalandara jusqu'à Magada, ils tuèrent une quantité de Bickhou . . . et Poucheiamitra lui-même mourut cinq ans après dans le nord."

¹⁶ Pali "*Milinda-panna*." The only notices of this valuable work that have yet appeared are Turnour, *Jour. Asiat. Soc.*, Bengal, 1836, p. 531; and Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 516. I understand, however, that the whole work is now in course of translation by M. Trenckner of Copenhagen.

"Questions of Milinda," one of the Pali books of Ceylon, we have a long and curious disputation between the *Yavana* (or Greek) *Milinda*, Raja of *Ságal*, and the famous Buddhist priest, *Nâgârjuna*. As the original form of the name of *Milinda* is admitted by Pali scholars to have been *Milindra*, there can be little doubt that this prince is *Menander*, the Greek King of *Sákala*, or *Sangala*, in the Panjâb. In one of his replies to *Nâgârjuna*, he states that he was born at *Alasadda*, or *Alexandria*; and he is invariably attended by *Yavana*, or Greek nobles. He was, therefore, undoubtedly a Greek king, and his name is so very similar to that of *Menander*, that the identity of the two kings is, I believe, generally admitted. The questions put by *Milinda* to the Buddhist priest show much of the argumentative acuteness of the Greek mind, and as the work is a Buddhist one, the king is of course represented as being finally convinced by *Nâgârjuna*. But it is not improbable that *Menander* may have had a leaning towards Buddhism, as, according to *Plutarch*, his subjects treated him after death like a Buddhist prince. "One *Menander*, who had reigned with justice over the *Bactrians*, having died in camp, it was agreed that the cities jointly should have the charge of his funeral rites; but, disputing amongst themselves, they at last divided his ashes equally, that all might raise monuments to the memory of such a man."¹⁷ *James Prinsep* first pointed out that this "singular passage may have had its origin

¹⁷ *Plutarch*, *Reipub. ger. Præcept.* Μενάνδρου δὲ τινὸς ἐν Βάκτροις ἐπιεικῶς βασιλεύσαντος, ζῆτ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἐποίησαντο κηδείαν κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν αἱ πόλεις. Περὶ δὲ τῶν λευφάνων αὐτοῦ καταστάντες εἰς ἀγῶνα, μόλις συνέβησαν, ὥστε νειμάμενοι μέρος ἴσον τῆς τέφρας ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι μνημεῖα παρὰ πᾶσι τοῦ ἀνδρός.

in a confused account of the monuments raised by the Buddhists to preserve the relics of their lawgiver."¹⁸ But we learn from the Pali annals of Ceylon that it was the custom to erect a monument over the ashes of a "supreme monarch."¹⁹ In the case of Menander, no doubt a single monument would have been erected to his memory if the people could have agreed as to which city should have the honour of possessing the remains of their beloved king. But as the inhabitants of different cities contended for this honour, it was determined, as in the similar case of Buddha's own remains, to divide the ashes equally amongst them, so that all the cities might erect their own monuments to the memory of their king.

There is still one more classical mention of Menander in the well-known passage of the *Periplus*,²⁰ where the author states that "even in his time ancient drachmas were current at Barygaza, bearing in Greek characters the stamp of the kings Apollodotus and Menander, who reigned after Alexander." Coupling this statement with the brief notice of Trogus, regarding the "Indian exploits" of Apollodotus and Menander, and with the important passage of Strabo, relating to Menander, I have assigned to Apollodotus the conquest of the country to the east of the lower Indus, and that of the Gangetic provinces to Menander. But as the coins of Menander were still current in Barygaza three centuries after his death, I conclude that he must have succeeded either

¹⁸ Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1833, p. 409.

¹⁹ Turnour, in Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1838, p. 797. Buddha informs his disciple Ananda that over the remains of a *Chakravartti Raja* they build a *Stupa* at a spot where four roads meet.

²⁰ Hudson, Geog. Vet. Script., i. 27. The original passage has already been given in my account of Apollodotus.

immediately, or after a short interval, to the sovereignty of all the dominions of Apollodotus. Thus at the time of his death the dominions of Menander would have comprised Kabul and Afghanistan on the west, the Panjâb and Sindh in the middle, and the whole of north-western India, as far as Mathura, on the east. Under him the empire of the Eastern Greeks attained its greatest extent, and the victorious arms of one of Alexander's successors were carried in triumph down the banks of the Ganges to the great capital of Palibothra.

According to my view, the career of Menander, as derived from all these various sources, may be briefly sketched as follows. About B.C. 160, I suppose him to have succeeded his presumed father, Straton, in the sovereignty of the Panjâb. For the first ten years he was probably employed in consolidating and extending his kingdom to the eastward as far as the Jumna. About B.C. 150, or shortly afterwards, he obtained possession of all the dominions of Apollodotus by the expulsion of that prince's feeble successors. Being now master of a powerful empire, extending from the sources of the Kabul river to the banks of the Jumna, and from Kashmir to the mouths of the Indus, I suppose him to have begun his Indian campaign in B.C. 148, when he obtained possession of the Gangetic Doab, Rohilkhand, and Mathura. In the following year, B.C. 147, the Greek cavalry was engaged with the troops of Pushpamitra, King of Vidisa or Bhilsa, on the south bank of the Sindhu, near Gwalior; and about the same time Menander must have taken possession of *Sâketa*, or Oudh, and of the lower Doab down to the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. The next year, B.C. 146, was probably occupied with preparations for the great campaign against Palibothra, which was carried out

in B.C. 145, by the capture of that famous capital of the Gangetic India.

After this crowning triumph of the Greek arms in the East, I suppose that the ambition of Menander was aroused, and that a restless love of glory, and the desire of recovering the former dominions of the Bactrian Greeks, incited him to plan further conquests in the West. It is certain, at least, that the campaign of Demetrius Nikator against the Parthian king was not undertaken until after repeated invitations from the Eastern Greeks. According to Josephus,²¹ the Syrian king intended, "when he should have obtained the dominion of the upper provinces, to lay a foundation for recovering his entire kingdom; for those Greeks and Macedonians dwelling there, frequently sent ambassadors to him, and promised that if he would come to them, they would deliver themselves up to him, and assist him in fighting against Arsakes, King of the Parthians." This account is confirmed by Justin,²² who relates that when Demetrius had decided upon invading Parthia, "the people of the East saw his coming not unwillingly, both because of the cruelty of Arsaces, King of the Parthians, and because, having been used to the old government of the Macedonians, they bore the pride of this upstart people with indignation. Wherefore, being assisted with the auxiliaries both of the Persians, and Elymeans, and Bactrians, he routed the Parthians in

²¹ Antiq., xiii. 5, 11.

²² Hist., xxxvi. 1. "Cujus adventum non inviti Orientis populi videre; et propter Arsacidæ, regis Parthorum crudelitatem, et quod veteri Macedonum imperio assueti, novi populi superbiam indigne ferebant. Itaque cum et Persarum, et Elymæorum, Bactrianorumque auxiliis juvaretur, multis præliis Parthos fudit. Ad postremum tamen, pacis simulatione deceptus, capitur.

many battles. However, at last, being trepanned by a pretence of making peace, he is captured." Now, Demetrius succeeded to the throne of Syria by the defeat of Alexander Balas in Nov., B.C. 146, and deeming himself secure, reduced his army, and gave himself up to pleasure. This conduct alienated his soldiers, of which Tryphon took advantage, in B.C. 144, to set up the young son of Balas as Antiochus VI., who soon got possession of Antioch and of the greater part of Syria. Demetrius then retired to Babylon, where I suppose him to have received the embassies from the Eastern Greeks and Macedonians mentioned by Josephus and Justin. Several of these embassies we know were from the discontented subjects of Parthia; and it is highly probable that one at least was from Menander, King of India, who must certainly have desired to recover the districts of Ariana, which had so recently been wrested from Apollodotus by the Parthians.

The campaign of Demetrius against the Parthian king is assigned by Clinton to B.C. 139.²³ He assumes that "Demetrius made his preparations in An. Sel. 172, about the beginning of B.C. 140; that he entered Parthia at the close of A.S. 173, about July B.C. 139; and was captured at the beginning of A.S. 175, in B.C. 138." But the last date is certainly too late, as there are numerous coins of his successor, Antiochus Sidetes, dated in A.S. 174; and as Antiochus did not obtain the kingdom until some time after the marriage of Demetrius with the Parthian princess Rhodogune during his captivity, I conclude that he was most probably taken prisoner about the middle of A.S. 173, or early in B.C. 139. This seems to be confirmed by the

²³ *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 331.

Greek coins of Mithridates, which are dated in A.S. 173 and 174, and which were most likely minted by Greek artists after the defeat of Demetrius. Of Demetrius himself there are no coins of A.S. 174, and I know of only two of A.S. 173,²⁴ which would appear to have been the last year of his reign; for as Syria was then held by Tryphon, the reign of Demetrius ended with the Parthian occupation of the Eastern provinces. As the testimony of the coin-dates is conclusive as to the end of his reign, the Parthian campaign must have been opened at least one year previously, or in B.C. 140. This indeed is the very date assigned to it in the Book of Maccabees,²⁵ or A.S. 172, which began 6th Oct., B.C. 141. I suppose therefore that the campaign was commenced early in B.C. 140, and was concluded before the middle of the following year.

Now all these dates correspond with the latter end of the reign of Menander; and as he would have been a great gainer by the defeat of the Parthians, I have little doubt that he was one of the parties who urged the attack with a promise of hearty co-operation. But as the account of this campaign preserved by Justin limits the allies of Demetrius to the revolted subjects of Parthia, "the Persians, Elymæans, and Bactrians," I infer that Menander must have died before the end of the campaign, which would at once account for the absence of the Greek troops of India. In the passage already quoted from

²⁴ Gough's *Seleucidæ*, pl. xiv., fig. 13, of Demetrius is dated $\Gamma\Omega\text{P}$, or 173; and Frölich, No. 31, p. 79; Gough, pl. xv., figs. 8, 9, 10, 11 are all dated ΔOP , or 174; and also Frölich, Nos. 1, 3, 5, p. 79. I have in my own cabinet coins of Mithridates of both dates.

²⁵ 1 Macc. xiv. i. "Now in the hundred threescore and twelfth year King Demetrius gathered his forces together and went into Media, to get him help to fight against Tryphon."

Plutarch we learn that Menander “died in camp;”²⁶ and whether he instigated the expedition of Demetrius, or simply took advantage of the favourable opportunity thus offered for the recovery of at least some portion of the former possessions of the Bactrian Greeks, I conclude that he had actually entered on a campaign against Parthia, and that he died about the end of B.C. 140, in the very midst of his march to the West.

Such, it appears to me, may have been the probable career of Menander, the most powerful and at the same time the most honoured of Alexander's successors in the East. Under him the Greek dominion attained its greatest extension, and the arms of Greece were carried down the banks of the Ganges to Palibothra, a triumph for which “the great Emathian conqueror” had sighed in vain.

I have now only to say a few words regarding the types of Menander's money. On his silver coins, which are very numerous, the types are limited to the figure of Athene Promachos and her Owl, both of which are also found on his copper money, as well as the Aegis with the head of Medusa. I suspect that this attachment to Pallas-Athene must have originated with his name, as *μένος* is certainly connected with the Sanskrit *manas* and Latin *mens*, which is the root of the Etruscan *Menrva* and the Latin *Minerva*. The common type of Menander's copper money is the figure of Victory, which in his case was specially appropriate. His other types are chiefly animals, of which the elephant most probably refers to India, and the two-humped camel to Kabul. The elephant's head is the usual type of the *lepta*, or smaller copper coins; and the complete animal with the goad on the reverse, is

²⁶ Reipub. ger. Præcept. ἀποθανόντεος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου.

restricted to a few rare specimens, which bear the title of *Dikaïos*. These would appear to have been struck towards the close of his reign, and shortly after his great Indian conquests; and the title was therefore most probably conferred upon him by his subjects.

The only other type which seems to call for any notice is that of the wheel, Plate XII. Fig. 13, which is found on a single coin of the Masson collection in the East India Museum. The wheel is of common occurrence on Buddhist coins and sculptures;²⁷ it crowned the summits of the gateways of the great Sânci Tope; and it formed the pinnacle of many of the great Buddhist monoliths. I believe it to have been the symbol of a *Chakravartti Raja*, or "Supreme Ruler," a title which was applied to all great earthly monarchs, as well as to Buddha himself. *Chakra* means simply a "wheel or sphere," and *chakra vartti* signifies literally the "wheel-turner"; but *chakra* also means a large territory or "circle" of many districts; hence the title of *Chakravartti* was given only to supreme monarchs. It was applied to Buddha because his attributes were those of a *Chakravartti Raja*.²⁸ To Menander it was especially appropriate from the extent of his territory; and the *wheel* on the coin was, therefore, perhaps intended to denote the extent of his rule, and probably also some acknowledgment of his leaning towards Buddhism.

²⁷ See Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1838, pl. 32, fig. 6. On some coins from Taxila the wheel of eight spokes, with knob ornaments on the outside, forms the sole type of the obverse, just as it does on this coin of Menander.

²⁸ Turnour in Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal, 1838, p. 106.



XVII.

ON AN ELECTRUM STATER, POSSIBLY OF EPHEBUS.

IN the collection of the Bank of England, now deposited in the British Museum, is an electrum stater, obtained by Borrell at Smyrna in 1825, and attributed by Mionnet, *Suppl.* vi. p. 213, No. 896, to Erythræ, in Ionia, an attribution which Borrell does not admit in his remarks, *Num. Chron.* vii. p. 65.

As neither Mionnet nor Borrell have correctly read the inscription on this coin, I take this opportunity of re-publishing it. It may be thus described:—

Obv.—Stag to the right, grazing, around ΦΑΕΝΟΡΕΜΙ
ΣΞΜΑ.

Rev.—Oblong sinking placed between two square sinkings.

The treatment of the stag, and the forms of the letters show that this coin belongs to the archaic period. From the evidence of the palæography, I should be disposed to assign it to the same period as the staters which I brought from Branchidæ, viz., some time between the fortieth and sixtieth Olympiad—B.C. 620 to 540.

So far as I know, no other inscribed coin in electrum of so early a date has ever been discovered. This stater was no doubt struck by some city on the western coast of Asia Minor. Its *provenance* was unknown to Borrell, and the attribution to Erythræ by Mionnet rests on a misreading of the last three letters of the inscription. The type of a stag seems to connect this coin with Ephesus, though there is no other evidence in support of such an attribution.

Of the three words which compose the legend on this coin, the last two present no difficulty—EMI ΣΗΜΑ, "I am the coin," is a form analogous to the legend ΤΩΝ ΤΕΛΟΙΩΝ ΕΜΙ on a bronze weight, published by Böckh, C. i. 8521, and may be further compared with the ΤΟΡΤΥΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΣΑΙΜΑ on General Fox's coin of Gortyna, with the ΣΕΥΘΑ ΚΟΜΜΑ and ΣΕΥΘΑ ΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ on the coins of Seuthes, King of Thrace, and with the ΑΧΕΛΑΙΟΙΟ on a silver coin of Metapontum. The analogy of these legends proves that the first word in the legend of the Bank stater must be considered as a genitive. "I am the coin of such a city or ruler." This word I read ΦΑΕΝΟΡ, and suppose the final R to have been used instead of Σ, as in the Æolic and Laconian dialects, see Böckh, i. p. 28; Ahrens, *De Dial. Dor.*, p. 70; and as on the celebrated Elcan rheatra on a bronze plate, Böckh, C. i. 11, where we find *τοῦρ* for *τοῖς*, and *τιρ* for *τις*. If this reading is correct, the genitive, *φαενως*, could only be formed from *φαενω*, which does not seem a probable name for a place.¹ The weight of this

¹ If we could suppose this coin to have been struck at Ephesus, *φαενώ*, "the bright one," may be an epithet of Artemis. The legend would then read, "I am the coin of the bright one," *i.e.*, of Artemis; in other words, the stater would

coin is 216·3 grs., showing that it belongs to the lighter standard, ranging from 216 to 220 grs., which is found in the staters attributed to Ephesus, Miletus, Chios, and Samos. The peculiar triple incuse occurs on a coin described in the Payne Knight Catalogue, A 1., p. 118, and which, having the fore part of the lion on the obverse, has been consequently attributed to Miletus. This coin weighs 217·8 grs. Another stater, with a similar incuse, and slightly different obverse, weighs 215·3.

On the Bank coin the long H is used, as in the Branchidæ inscriptions and other examples of Ionic palæography. The third letter of the first word is so blurred that it may be either E or I, or possibly N. I prefer to read *φαενώ*, supposing this to be the Æolic form of *φαυνώ*. Both forms, *φαυνώ* and *φαεννώ*, are found in Pape's Wörterbuch d. Griech. Eigennamen.

CHARLES NEWTON.

have been so marked to show that it was issued from the mint of the Temple of the Ephesian Artemis. See the Memoir by Curtius recently translated by Mr. Head in N.C., x. p. 91.

XVIII.

NOTES ON COINS RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN SCOTLAND.

Reprinted, by permission, from the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. VIII., p. 286.

ABOUT the beginning of May, 1869, certain old buildings adjoining the prison at Dunblane were pulled down, to make way for the improvement of the prison. In the course of these operations a workman, in digging the foundation for the new building, struck against an earthen vessel, which was broken to fragments, and exposed to view a large quantity of gold coins. They were taken possession of by the Procurator-Fiscal, and forwarded to the Exchequer. Annexed is a list of the coins, 180 in number, and weighing upwards of 20 ounces.

The latest Scottish coins in this parcel are the écus of James V. There being no bonnet pieces, which were first struck in 1539, it is almost certain the concealment took place before that time. The écus being all in brilliant preservation, and weighing 53 grains each, must, at the period of the deposit, have been almost newly issued from the mint.

The English and French coins are also, for the most

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part, in a high state of preservation, but present no new variety or coin of any great rarity; but among the Scottish series there are several of extreme rarity, and two of which no other specimens are known to exist (with the exception of one in the Advocates' collection), viz., the *half* unicorns of James IV.

The following are the rare coins in this important discovery :—

1st. The unicorns of James III., having “EXVRGAT” on both obverse and reverse, of which there are five specimens.

2nd. The unicorns of James IV., three in number, all of great rarity. Two of these are without the numeral, and besides having X under the unicorn on obverse, present other new and interesting peculiarities (Plate XIX., Nos. 1 and 2). The third one has the numeral (Plate XIX., No. 3), and resembles Lindsay, Pl. 13, No. 27.

3rd. The two half unicorns of James IV. before mentioned, apparently from the same die. Lindsay's Descriptive Catalogue, No. 83. They are better preserved than that in the Advocates' Library, weighing each 29 grains, the Advocates' weighing only 28 grains, and closely resemble a coin attributed in Lindsay's original work to James III. (Plate XIX., No. 4.)

4th. The écus of James V. (Plate XIX., Nos. 5 and 6), with the legend, “PER LINGV CRVCES SALVI SVMVS,” of which there are three specimens, being about as many as formerly known, and one with the same legend, but with the spelling CRVCIS, probably the second known.

In Mr. Lindsay's first supplement to his “Coinage of Scotland” (p. 22), he describes, and gives an engraving (Plate 3, No. 2) of an unicorn of James IV., with XC under the unicorn, and suggests whether that “should be

considered as intended to express the date 1490, as we see on some of the Continental coins of this period." Two of the three unicorns of this discovery have X only, and not XC, below the unicorn. This circumstance having been communicated to Mr. Lindsay as affecting his theory, he replied—

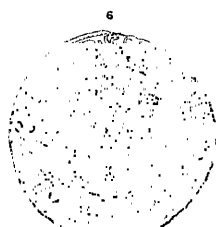
"The two unicorns with X, without the C, must, I fear, upset my theory as to the date 1490; but the substitution of another seems to afford a fine field for discussion. Perhaps the X may denote the value, 10 groats; but then what does C stand for, unless we consider it as a G, for which it may possibly have been intended?"

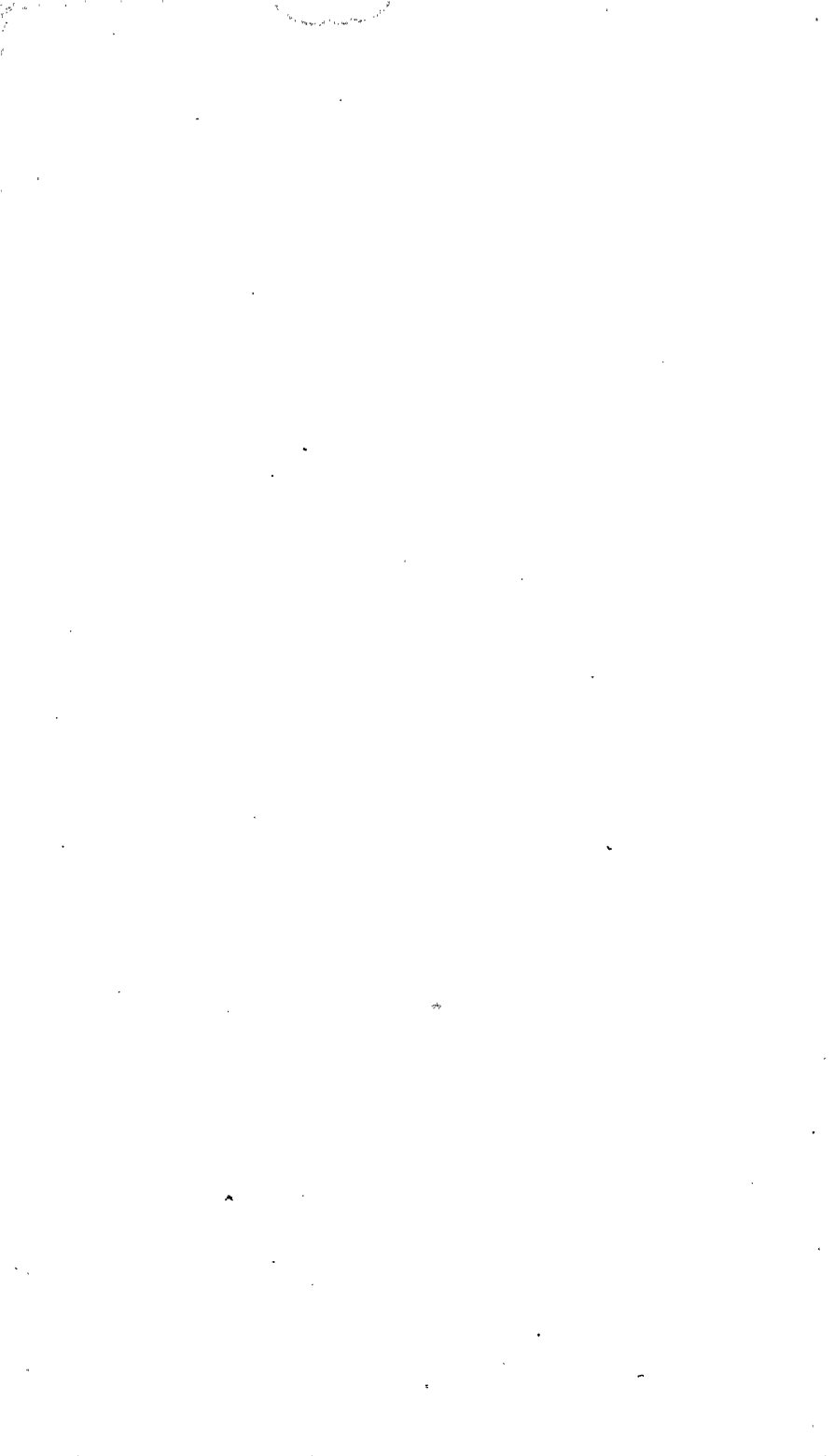
Mr. John Evans suggests that "the X and XC must simply stand for the Greek ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ."

This suggestion by Mr. Evans having been made known to Mr. Lindsay, he again replied—

"The X on the unicorn of James IV., as I suspected, has given our Antiquarian brethren a bone to pick. Mr. Evans' suggestion may possibly be correct, but if the value should be exactly 10 groats, I still think my supposition a better one; but it is very possible complete certainty in the matter may never be attained."

The Act of James IV., 1488, referred to by Cardonnel and by Mr. Lindsay (at page 138 of his original work), where gold coins of 30, 20, and 10 groats were ordered to be struck, is indeed very puzzling. The larger pieces have never been seen in modern times, and probably never were issued.





LIST OF GOLD COINS FOUND AT DUNBLANE IN MAY, 1869.

Countries.	Sovereigns.	Names of Coins.	Number of Coins.	Dates.
Burgundy	Philip, Duke of,	Ecu	1	1363-1404
France	{ Charles VII. and } VIII.	Ecus	13	{ 1422-1461 1483-1498
Do.	{ Louis XI. and } XII.	Ecus	35	{ 1461-1483 1498-1515
Do.	Francis I.	Ecus	35	1515-1547
England	Edward III.	Nobles	2	1327-1377
Do.	Henry V. and VI.	Nobles	5	
Do.	Edward IV.	Angels	2	
Do.	Henry VII.	Angels	2	
Do.	Henry VIII.	Angel	1	1509-1547
Do.	Do.	Crown	1	
Scotland	James I.	St. Andrew	1	1406-1436-7
Do.	Do.	Lions	2	
Do.	James II.	Lion	1	1437-1460
Do.	James III.	Unicorns	25	
Do.	Do.	{ Do. "EXVRGAT" } on both sides	5	1460-1488
Do.	Do.	Half unicorns	15	
Do.	James IV.	Unicorns	3	1488-1513
Do.	Do.	Half unicorns	2	
Do.	Do.	Riders	6	
Do.	Do.	Half riders	5	
Do.	James V.	Common ecus	12	1513-1542
Do.	Do.	{ Ecus with "PER" } { LINGNY CRVCES." }	3	
Do.	Do.	{ Ecu with "PER" } { LINGNY CRVCIS." }	1	
			180	

GEORGE SIM.

XIX.

MONEY OF NECESSITY.

ISSUED IN IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF JAMES THE SECOND.

THE Money of Necessity coined by James II. may be described under two divisions.

The first includes those coins of copper and brass, usually called "gun-money" in England, while in Ireland the popular name for them is "brass-money."

The second division includes those coins made of pewter, in which one or two pieces of prince's-metal, an alloy of copper and zinc, are inserted.

The designation of gun-money appears to have arisen from the mention of "gunn mettle" and "uscless cannon at Gallway and Kingsaile" in the correspondence between the Commissioners of the Mint, and their agents throughout the country who collected metal for the use of the Mint.

Brass is also mentioned in the same correspondence, but so small a proportion of the coins were made of that alloy, that the term brass-money is applicable to a very limited extent; still it is the only name used in Ireland, and it is always applied in derision of James's memory.

In many of the proclamations given in the Appendix to Simon on Irish Coins, the coining of "copper and brass money" is mentioned, but money of necessity appears to

be the fittest designation, because in the proclamation of 18th of June, 1689, for the issue of six-penny pieces, it expressly states that "we have caused the said copper and brass money to be made currant money for present necessity, and therefore do not intend that the same shall continue for any long time." (Simon, Appendix, No. 75.)

It will be convenient to give, in the first place, brief extracts in chronological order, from the proclamations and other documents published in the Appendix to Simon's "Essay on Irish Coins," 4to. 1749,¹ and, in the next place to give a descriptive catalogue of the coins.

All the catalogues or lists of this money of necessity which I have met with, are imperfect, and in some respects incorrect. They are all deficient in not giving a complete list of the months in which coins were issued, and also in not showing the numerous varieties of the coins which exist, and they are often incorrect in the chronological order of the coins, and other particulars which have been stated on the authority of sale catalogues.

Much confusion has arisen from the different modes of computing dates. The historical year for a long period has commenced on the 1st of January. The civil or legal year which was employed in all legal instruments from the end of the thirteenth century, commenced on the 25th of March, and so continued until the reforma-

¹ Ruding, in the preface to his "Annals of the Coinage of Britain and its Dependencies," passes the following candid and well-merited eulogium on Simon. "This, though modestly styled an essay only, is, in my judgment, the most valuable of all the publications upon the coinage of any part of the united dominions. The original documents to which the author had access furnish information of the greatest interest, and of the highest authority. I am happy to seize this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to this work." 2nd Edit. p. xvii.

tion of the calendar by the statute 24 Geo. II. c. 23, by which the civil or legal year was ordered to commence on the 1st of January, 1753.

James's coins are dated according to the civil year, and the dates of March, 1689, and March, 1690, which occur on the large shillings, and large half-crowns, could not be reconciled with the fact that the money of necessity was first ordered to be coined on the 18th of June, 1689, except by computing the date from the 25th of March, the beginning of the civil year 1689.

FIRST DIVISION.

James II. abdicated the throne of England in December, 1688, and retired to France, from whence he landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March following, and made his public entry into Dublin on the 24th of March, 1688-9. The following day he issued a proclamation for raising the current value of all English and foreign gold and silver coins, at that time circulating in Ireland. (Simon, Appendix, No. 72.)

This scheme having failed to relieve the necessities of the king, a proclamation was issued from the Castle of Dublin on the 18th of June, 1689, "for remedy of the present scarcity of money in this our kingdom," and stating that "we have ordered a certain quantity of copper and brass money to be coined to pass currant in this our kingdom during our pleasure, in six-penny pieces," and that "we have caused the said copper and brass money to be made currant for present necessity, and therefore do not intend that the same shall continue for any long time." (Simon, Appendix, No. 75.)

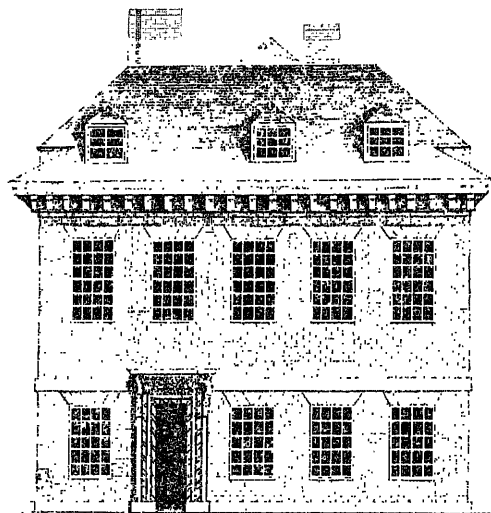
On the 19th of June, 1689, the king set aside the patent for coining copper halfpence which he had granted on the 29th of December, 1685, to Sir John Knox, then Lord Mayor of Dublin, and which had been transferred to Colonel Roger Moore, and at the same time seized on the coining tools and presses, and appointed Commissioners and other officers to conduct the new mints, one to be at Limerick, in the deanery house, and the other in Capel-street, in Dublin, which last consisted of two presses, one called the James Press and the other the Duchess; and so great was the urgency arising from the scarcity of money, that "each set of men were obliged to work at each press twelve hours, night and day; wherefore a double set of hands was required." (Simon, p. 59.)

Another proclamation was issued from the Castle of Dublin on the 27th of June, 1689, which states that since the date of the proclamation respecting the six-penny pieces "we have ordered a further quantity of copper and brass money to be coyned, to pass currant in this our kingdom, during our pleasure, in twelve-penny pieces and half-crown pieces." The counterfeiting of these coins is declared to be high treason, and it is also declared that whosoever "shall presume to export any of the said coyn or pieces of copper and brass money into any other country whatsoever,—shall be prosecuted according to the utmost rigour of the law." (Simon, Appendix, No. 76.)

As the mints could not go on without metal, the Secretary of State, on the 11th of July, 1689, sent a warrant to the Master-General of the Ordnance, to "deliver to the Commissioners of the Mint those two brass canons now lying in the court of this our castle" at Dublin. (Simon, Appendix, No. 78.)

In order to obtain a sufficient quantity of metal to keep the mint at work, a letter dated the 15th of July, 1689, was sent by the Commissioners of the Mint "to all the collectors of his Majesty's revenue throughout the whole kingdom," urging them "to procure as much hammered or forged copper and brass as your parts can afford ;—and as soon as you have four or five hundred weight, pray send it to us, the Commissioners of his Majesty's Mint, at the Mint House, in Capel Street, Dublin." (Simon, Appendix, No. 79.)

The accompanying view of King James's Mint House



King James II.'s Mint House, No. 27, Capel Street, where the late Thomas Sheridan was born.

has been copied from an engraving published in 1795, in "Poems," by Samuel Whyte, Third Edit., Vol. I., p. 44. Mr. Whyte was an eminent schoolmaster in Dublin, who, from respect for the memory of the father of Richard

Brinsley Sheridan, has preserved a very appropriate illustration for this communication.

The 10th of December, 1689, certain "quantities of brass, copper, and battery,"² were sent to the Commissioners from Waterford. (Simon, Appendix, No. 90.)

On the 4th of January, 1689, Walter Plunkett, the sole Commissioner at Limerick, informed John Trindar, one of the Commissioners at Dublin, that he had forwarded by carriages "six thousand six hundred weight of gunn mettle, six hundred, a quarter, and two pounds of fine pewter," and "they will be eleven or twelve days a-goeing, because the roads are very deep." A further supply was expected from Cork of "five or six thousand weight of copper and brass," and "there are foure or five broken bells in the country, which I can have if you send an order for seizing them for the king's use; there is an useless cannon at Gallway and one or two at Kingsaile; I forgot to send you some of our coyne, as you desired, by the next occasion I will not faile." (Simon, Appendix, No. 89.)

Christopher Nicholson, writing from Athlone on the 9th of February, 1689-90, informs Commissioner Trindar that he had delivered to the carmen thirty-five hundred weight and twenty-four pounds of metal, and that "there is five hundred weight of the last gun they could not carry, and some brass that I have bought, and some brass belonging to absentees, which will be here in a few days, and shall be sent by the first carrs that I can procure." (Simon, Appendix, No. 91.)

² Chambers, in his Dictionary, explains battery to mean kettles, pots, and pans, made by the hammer of brass, &c.

Notwithstanding the large quantity of copper, brass, and gun-metal which had been sent into the mint at Dublin, it did not suffice to "remedy the scarcity of money;" and in order to keep the mint in full work, a proclamation was issued from Dublin Castle on the 21st of April, 1690, which states that, "Whereas we have thought fit, for publick convenience, to reduce the twelve-penny pieces and half-crown pieces of copper and brass money hereafter to be coyned to a lesser weight than formerly, without any alteration of the impressions or superscriptions, and yet the said pieces to continue at the same value that the like pieces passed at hitherto, we do hereby publish and declare, by the advice aforesaid, that the said twelve-penny pieces and half-crown pieces hereafter to be coyned, shall pass at the same value with the like pieces of copper and brass money formerly coyned, though not of equal weight." (Simon, Appendix, No. 85.)

The king and council having reduced the half-crown pieces "to a lesser weight than formerly," it was necessary to withdraw from circulation the original heavier half-crowns, and on the 15th of June, 1690, a proclamation was issued "to call in all the half-crown pieces of copper and brass money, which appear by the stamp upon them to have been coyned within this our kingdom, before the month of May last; yet so as our loving subjects who have such money in their hands, may thereby suffer no loss, but receive other current money in exchange thereof from the Commissioners of our Mint." The half-crowns which were called in were not to be "current money in any payment within the city or county of the city of Dublin, from or after the last day of this present month of June, nor in any other part of the province of Leinster after the 15th day of July next, nor in any

other part of this our kingdom after the last day of July aforesaid.” (Simon, Appendix, No. 86.)

The same day on which the heavy or large half-crowns were called in, a proclamation was issued in order to provide a “more speedy supply of money to defray our present great and necessary expences;” and it states that for such purpose “we have ordered a quantity of copper and brass to be coyned into crown pieces—each of the said pieces to pass for five shillings in all payments whatsoever.” (Simon, Appendix, No. 87.)

The following table shows the dates at which the several coins of copper and brass were ordered by proclamation to be coined :—

1689.	June 18th.	Six pence.
„	„ 27th.	Large shilling.
„	„ „	Large half-crown.
1690.	April 21st.	Small shilling.
„	„ „	Small half-crown.
„	June 15th.	Crown.

CATALOGUE.

In the following catalogue, the descriptions are given from coins in my own cabinet and in the British Museum. The varieties consist mainly in the names of the months, which are expressed as far as ordinary type would admit. The minor differences, which consist only in the form of certain letters, particularly *g*, *l*, and *y*, are indicated by a number within a parenthesis, and they are noticed only for the purpose of showing the large number of dies employed for the reverses, while a remarkable identity is preserved in the obverses.

Many of the coins are made of pure copper, a few of yellow brass, and the remainder of such alloys as would result from melting together old cannon, broken bells, and kitchen furniture, which mixed metal was "valued by the workmen in the mint at no more than three or four pence the pound weight." (Simon, p. 62.)

SIXPENCE.

JUNE, 1689, TO JUNE, 1690.

Obv.—The king's bust, laureated, draped, to the left, the hair descending in curls on the neck. Legend: IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA.

Rev.—In the centre a regal crown, between the initials *I.R.* in plain script characters; behind the crown two sceptres in saltire; above the crown the numerals VI, or VI., over which is the date 1689, or 1690; and under the crown, in script letters, the name of the month in which the coin was issued. Legend: MAG. BR. FR. or FRA. ET. HIB. REX.

The edge of the coin is milled with oblique lines, or "fringed round," as the proclamation directs. The stems of a few of the letters in the legends are slightly forked at the lower end.

1689 . *June* (2), *June* . . , *June* . . ,
 „ . *July* (5), *July* . . ,
 „ . *Aug*, one with FR. on reverse (±), *Aug*’
 „ . *Sep*^r, *Sep*^r, 7ber,
 „ . *Oct* : , British Museum.
 „ . *Nov*, *Nov* . . , *Nov* : ,
 „ . *Dec* . (2), *Dec* : (2),
 „ . *Jan* (2), *Jan* . (2), *Jan* : (3),
 „ . *Feb* : (4),
 „ . *Mar* . , British Museum.

- 1690 . *Mar* : , British Museum.
 „ . *Apr* , *apr* : , British Museum.
 „ . *May* : ,
 „ . *June* : , British Museum.

Sixpences were coined for fourteen consecutive months. Those for October and March, 1689, and for March, April, and June, 1690, are now first published. In the spring of 1870, when I was comparing my list with the coins in the British Museum, I was agreeably surprised to find six sixpences of five months, not one of which I had ever before met with. The sixpence of May, 1690, is not uncommon, while those now published for the first time are, I believe, unique.

There are at least forty-three varieties of the sixpence. The weight of thirty-seven in my cabinet ranges from 43 $\frac{1}{16}$ to 64 $\frac{1}{16}$ grains: the lightest being of June, 1689, and the heaviest September, 1689.

The mode of expressing the word *septem* by the figure 7 occurs only on the sixpence, while 8, 9, and 10 are substituted for *octo*, *novem*, and *decem*, on the large shillings, and on the large half-crowns the 8 only occurs.

LARGE SHILLING.

JULY, 1689, to APRIL, 1690.

Obv.—The king's head, laureated, to the left, the hair descending in curls on the neck, which is bare.
 Legend : IACOBVS . II . DEI . GRATIA.

Rev.—In the centre, a regal crown between the initials *I.R.*, in plain script characters; behind the crown, two sceptres in saltire; above the crown, the numerals XII, over which is the date 1689 or 1690; and under the crown the name of the month in which the coin was issued, expressed in script characters, Roman capitals, or by figures.
 Legend : MAG . BR . FRA . ET . HIB . REX.

The edge of the coin is milled like the sixpence, and the stems of the letters are rarely forked.

1689. *July* (3), one has no points or dots between the words of the legend on the obverse. *July*. (2),
 „ . *Aug* (2), *Aug.*, *Aug:*, *Aug^t* (2), *Aug^t.*, *Aug^t:* (3) *Aug*
 (2), *Aug.*, *Aug:*,
 „ . *Sep^r* (4), *Sep^r:* (3), *Sep^t.*,
 „ . *Oct:* (3), *Oct*, *Oct.* (2), one without dots between the words of the legend on the obverse. *Oct^r.*, *Oct^r:*, *8^{bre}.*,
 8^{bre}.,
 „ . *Nov.*, *Nov:* (3), *nov^r.*, 9, 9^r (3), one with a castle of two towers under the king's head.
 „ . *Dec*, *Dec.*, *Dec:* (3), 10^r (2),
 „ . *Jan* (2), *Jan:* (4), one with the *a* reversed.
 „ . *Feb* (2), *Feb.*, *Feb:* (3),
 „ . *Mar*, *Mar:*,
 1690. *APar.*, *APar:*,
 „ . *Apr.*, *Apr:* (3),

Large shillings were coined for eleven consecutive months. The number of varieties in the preceding list is seventy-three; there are fourteen of August and ten of October. The figures of the years are much larger on some of the coins than on others. The weight of these coins ranges from 72 grains to 122 grains: the lightest being of April, 1690, and the heaviest of March, 1689. Many of them weigh more than 100 grains.

LARGE HALF-CROWN.

JULY, 1689, to MAY, 1690.

Obv.—The king's bust, laureated, draped, to the left, the hair descending in curls on the neck. Legend: IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA.

Rev.—In the centre, a regal crown between the initials *I.R.*, in script characters, garnished; behind the crown, two sceptres in saltire; above the crown, the numerals XXX, over which is the date 1689 or 1690; under the crown the name of the

month in which the coin was issued, expressed in script characters or Roman capitals; and a figure of 8 in one for October. Legend: MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX.

The edge milled with a triple row of leaves; the stems of the letters in the legends are rarely forked.

1689. *July* (3), the initial letters *J.R.*, on two of these coins are smaller and less garnished than on all the other half-crowns, except one of August.

„ . *Aug.*, *Aug*: (2), *Aug^t*: , *Aug^t*: (2), one has the date 1689 under the name of the month, and the legend commencing from below; it is engraved in Lindsay's "View of the Coinage of Ireland," 4to. 1839. Pl. 7, fig. 154.

„ . *Sep^r*: (5), one without dots between the words in the legend on the obverse, *Sep^r*: (3),

„ . *Oct*: , *Ocr*, *Ocr*: , *Ocr^s*: , on this coin the letter A, incuse or indented, is very distinct between the letters VS, on the obverse; and the same letter, in like manner, is visible between the letters HI on the reverse.

SEEN British Museum.

„ . *Nov*: , *Nov*: (3),

„ . *Dec*: (2), *Dec*: (2),

„ . *Jan*: (3),

„ . *Feb*, *Feb*: , *Feb*: (3),

„ . *Mar*:

1690. *Mar*: , *Mar*: (2),

„ . *Apr*: , *Apr*: (3), *Apr*: (4),

„ . *May*, *May*: (3),

Large half-crowns were coined for twelve consecutive months. The number of varieties in the preceding list is fifty-four. In making these coins no fixed weight appears to have been adopted. One for July, 1689, weighs $183\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and one for the following month 259 grains, and the coins for April, 1690, range in weight from 115 to 211 grains.

"All the half-crown pieces of copper and brass money, which appear by the stamp upon them to have been coined within this our kingdom, before the month of May

last" were, by proclamation of the 15th of June, 1690, to cease to be current within the city and county of Dublin from and after the last day of June, 1690. (Simon, Appendix, No. 86.)

The half-crowns bearing the date May, 1690, probably had not been issued from the mint when the proclamation was drawn up; but as they were to pass current up to the end of June, they were put into circulation.

SMALL SHILLING.

APRIL, 1690, TO SEPTEMBER, 1690.

Obv.—The king's bust, laureated, to the left, the hair descending in curls on the back of the neck, which is bare; and a small curl from the right side of the head appearing in front of the neck, with rare exceptions. Legend: IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA.

Rev.—In the centre, a regal crown between the initials *I.R.*, in script characters, garnished; behind the crown, two sceptres in saltire; above the crown, the numerals XII, over which is the date 1690; and under the crown, the name of the month in which the coin was issued, in script characters or Roman letters. Legend: MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX.

The edge of the coin milled with oblique lines; the stems of the letters are rarely forked.

1690. *apr* (2), one has cinque-foils between the words of the legend on the obverse, the other has not the curl in front of the neck.

„ . *MAY*, with cinque-foils between the words on the obverse, *may* British Museum, *May* (5), one without the curl in front of the neck, *May*. (3),

„ . *June* (2), *June*. (2),

„ . *July*, British Museum.

„ . *Augt.*, British Museum.

„ . *Sep* :,

Small shillings were coined for six consecutive months. The number of varieties in the preceding list is nineteen, and the size is intermediate between the large shilling and the sixpence. The weight ranges from 66 to 105 grains. The king's head seems to be identical on most of these coins; but minute differences in the hair show that at least three different dies were employed.

SMALL HALF-CROWN.

APRIL, 1690, TO OCTOBER, 1690.

Obv.—The king's head, laureated, to the left, the hair descending in full curls, and covering the base of the bare neck. Legend: IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA.

Rev.—In the centre, a regal crown, between the initials *I.R.*, garnished; behind the crown, two sceptres in saltire; above the crown, the numerals *XXX*, over which is the date 1690; and under the crown the name of the month in which the coin was issued, in script characters. Legend: MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REX.

The edge of the coin is milled with oblique lines, or with a double row of leaves, and the stems of the letters are rarely forked.

1690. *Apr.*;

„ . *may* (2), one has cinque-foils instead of dots between the words of the legend, on the reverse, *May* (5),

May. (7),

„ . *June, June.*, *June.*,

„ . *July* (2),

„ . *Aug.*;

„ . *Sep.*;, British Museum.

„ . *Oct.*;

Small half-crowns were coined for seven consecutive months. The number of varieties in the preceding list is twenty-three. The size of the coins is intermediate between the large shilling and the large half-crown, and the weight ranges from 104 to 196 grains, which exceeds the weight of a few of the large half-crowns. There are three varieties of the king's head, and a few only have a dot at the end of the legend on the obverse.

CROWN.

JUNE 15, 1690.

FIRST GROUP.

Obv.—The king laureated, in armour, holding a sword erect, and mounted on a stallion walking to the left. Legend: IAC. II. DEI. GRA. MAG. BRI. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. The king appears as if standing in the stirrups, the point of the sword is between the words REX, and IAC, the spur has a long neck, and the ends of the king's sash are large, and float upwards; the rein of the bridle is ornamented with studs; the horse's tail is much curved; and the ground under the horse is marked with wavy lines.

Rev.—In the centre, a regal crown, with four crowned shields arranged crosswise, and bearing respectively the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. Legend: CHRIST TO. | VICT | ORE. TRI | VMPHO., divided into four parts by the crowns which surmount the shields, in the angles of the cross formed by the shields, ANO | DÖM | 16 | 90; some coins have not the dot after TRIVMPHO, and one has not the dashes over ANO and DOM.

The edge is milled with a triple row of leaves, and the stems of a few of the letters are forked.

This description is given from coins which do not appear to have been re-struck on large half-crowns. They weigh from 198 to 244 grains.

Of others, which manifestly have been re-struck, one has the ground under the horse marked by three cross-lines in two places, and another is not milled on the edge, which presents the appearance of being hammered.

SECOND GROUP.

Though all the crowns are of the same type, the coins in this group present the following differences from those in the first group :—

The king's body is larger and in a different kind of armour ; he is sitting in the saddle ; the ends of the sash are smaller ; the sword is slender, and slanting forwards—the point of it is under the E in REX ; the spur has no neck. The horse's head is small, the tail is bushy and has only one curve ; the bridle rein is not ornamented with studs.

The three specimens which I possess have been restruck on large half-crowns.

Some of the crowns of copper and brass were struck with the dies prepared for making the crown pieces of mixed white metal, which together with the small half-crowns and shillings, were ordered to be coined on the 21st of April, 1690. On the 15th of June crowns of copper and brass were ordered to be coined, and on the same day, the large half-crowns were called in without any intimation of the intention of converting them into crowns, and that many of the large half-crowns were restruck is proved by the traces of the original impressions which so frequently are manifest on the crowns.

The metal of the "copper and brass money" was "valued by the workmen at the mint at no more than three or four pence the pound weight" (Simon, p. 62) ; and Plunkett, the sole Commissioner of the Mint at

Limerick, writing to one of the commissioners in Dublin says, "I cannot buy fine pewter now under eleven or twelve pence the pound, for they say you give fourteen or fifteen pence in Dublin." (Simon, Append. 89.)

The intrinsic value of pewter being about four times as much as the metal of the other coins, it was evident that a crown of white metal would cost twice as much as a large half-crown of the other metal.³

The crowns of white metal are so rare it is probable that very few, if any, were put into circulation, a conjecture which is supported by Mr. Thomas Putland, who writing to Ralph Thoresby, of Leeds, the 26th Nov., 1696, and at the same time sending him a white metal crown, says, "There was very little of it coyned, for our government could meet with none of it; until one day, rummaging all their tinkery treasure they had left behind them in Dublin when they were routed, by accident I met with one bag of one hundred and fifty of those pieces." (Philos. Trans., vol. xxiv. p. 1875.)

No account has been given by Simon or other writers on Irish coins of the place of mintage of the small shillings and half-crowns, which were coined subsequent to King James's flight from Ireland, immediately after the battle of the Boyne, July 1st, 1690, O.S.

The small number of coins issued during the four months from July to October, 1690, were coined at Limerick, by James's adherents, who held that city up to the 3rd of October, 1691, when the treaty of surrender was signed. A mint was established, in 1689, in the deanery house, Limerick, and that money was coined there appears

³ A pewter crown in fine preservation weighs 281 grains and another weighs 237 grains.

from Commissioner Plunkett's letter of January 4th, 1689, to one of the commissioners in Dublin, in which he says, "I forgot to send you some of our coin as you desired." (Simon, Append. 89.) The coins of the Limerick mint are as well executed as those minted at Dublin.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF VARIETIES OF THE COINS
ISSUED IN EACH MONTH FROM JUNE, 1689, TO OCTOBER, 1690.

Month.	Sixpence.	Large Shilling.	Large Half-crown.	Small Shilling.	Small Half-crown.	Total.
June 1689	4	..	..	..	..	4
July	6	5	3	..	..	14
August	5	14	6	..	..	25
September	2	8	8	..	..	18
7ber	1	..	..	..	..	1
October	Brit. Mus.	8	4	..	..	13
8ber	..	2	Brit. Mus.	..	..	3
November	3	5	4	..	..	12
9r	..	3	..	..	..	3
9r with Castle	..	1	..	..	..	1
December	4	5	4	..	..	13
10r	..	2	..	..	..	2
January	7	6	3	..	..	16
February	4	6	5	..	..	15
March	Brit. Mus.	2	1	..	..	4
March 1690	Brit. Mus.	2	3	..	..	6
April	Brit. Mus. 2	4	8	2	1	17
May	1	..	4	10	14	29
June	Brit. Mus.	..	..	4	3	8
July	..	..	..	Brit. Mus.	2	3
August	..	..	..	Brit. Mus.	1	2
September	..	..	..	1	Brit. Mus.	2
October	..	..	..	..	1	1
	43	73	54	19	23	212

SECOND DIVISION.

In the year 1856 I published in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, Vol. III., a paper "On the Irish Pewter Coins of James II.," accompanied with engravings of nine coins. I have no further information to communicate respecting the pewter coins, except that

I now possess a halfpenny of the same type as Fig. 3, but with the date 1690, and apparently from the same die as the proof in silver, Fig. 9.

The small intrinsic value of the Money of Necessity was a great temptation to commit forgery; and, accordingly, the proclamation of June 27th. 1689, for the coinage of large shillings and large half-crowns, declares, "that if any person or persons whatsoever will presume to counterfeit the said money, or any of the said pieces, that he or they so offending shall be proceeded against as persons guilty of high treason; and in case any person or persons whatsoever, will discover any such offender or offenders so as he or they be brought to condign punishment, we do hereby engage that such discoverer or discoverers shall have for their recompense the one moiety of the estate, real and personal, of the person or persons that shall be so found guilty of counterfeiting the said money or coyne, provided the value of the said estate will amount to forty pounds sterling or more, and if the value of the said estate be under forty pounds, such discoverer or discoverers shall have for their service herein the summ of twenty pounds sterling." (Simon, Appendix, No. 76.)

The dies were well executed, and a further difficulty against counterfeiting was provided by having the edge of every piece milled, or "fringed round," as directed in the proclamation for coining the sixpenny pieces.

The copper and brass pieces are all milled, either with oblique lines, or a wreath of leaves, and the white metal crown has on its edge the words, MELIORIS . TESSERA . FATI . ANNO . REGNI . SEXTO.

Ruding observes that, "Milling was first used in England in 1663, the strokes at that time going at right angles across the edge. That mode continued until 1669,

when diagonal strokes were devised ;” and that “the whole operation of milling is yet kept a profound secret in the Mint, all those who are intrusted being sworn not to discover it.” (Vol. i., p. 189, 2nd edit., 1819.)

The art of milling, and of impressing letters on the edge of a coin was known and practised in Ireland at an earlier period than the reign of James II.

I possess tradesmen’s tokens, which are milled with “strokes, at right angles across the edge,” and issued in Ireland by Mic Wilson, Dublin, 1672, Richard Harris of Loughrea, 1677, and Thomas Nicholl of Dungarvon, 1677. I also possess a copper token, issued by the corporation of Kinsale, in 1677, which has on the edge the words, *DEPRESSA . RESURGO*. And I have also a brass penny, issued by William Ballard of Cork, in 1677, with the word *CITTY*, and other letters, on the edge.

I have not met with an evident counterfeit of any of James’s Money of Necessity ; but the inferior style of workmanship, and the peculiarities in the type of the obverse of the copper crowns in the second group, create a suspicion that these pieces are counterfeits. The temptation to commit forgery became much greater when the large half-crowns were converted into crowns by the simple process of re-striking them ; and the difficulty of milling the edge did not exist, because the half-crowns could be re-struck without effacing the milling.

APPENDIX.

James, after his defeat at the battle of the Boyne, July 1st, 1690, o.s., retired again to France, and we learn from Simon, “that after this prince had left Ireland,

another kind of brass money was struck by his adherents at Limerick during the siege of that place, which, from the word stamped on their reverse, were called *Hibernias*." (p. 64).

Obv.—James' bust, laureated, draped, the hair descending in curls on the neck. Legend: IACOBVS·II·DEI·GRATIA.

Rev.—Ireland represented by a female, seated on a rock, and looking to the left, the right arm holding up a cross patée, and the left forearm resting on a harp. Legend: HIBERNIA·1691.

The bust on these coins is similar, but somewhat larger than that on the sixpence of James. The coins are of two sizes, and the busts also are of different sizes.

The larger coins were restruck on large shillings, and usually exhibit traces of the original impression. The N in Hibernia is reversed.

The smaller coins are of the same size as the small shillings, and the N in Hibernia is reversed only on some of them. They do not show any trace of having been restruck, and they are milled with a double row of leaves, while the small shillings have oblique lines on their edge.

The 10th of July, 1690, a proclamation was issued by William III. from his "camp by Dublin," ordering that "the large half-crown of copper money, together with the crown-pieces of like metal and weight, lately stamp'd, shall pass at one penny sterling," the small half-crown at three farthings, the large shilling at a halfpenny, and the small shilling and sixpence each at one farthing. (Simon Appendix, No. 93.) And, by another proclamation, of the 23rd of February, 1690 [o.s.], it was ordered that, after the 26th of that month none of the said pieces or

coyns should be currant, at any rate or price whatsoever. (Simon, Appendix, No. 92.)

The brass and copper money of King James having been reduced in value for some months, and its currency entirely suspended in February, 1690, it would seem that his adherents, having a mint at Limerick during the siege, issued the Hibernias, of two sizes, which probably passed as halfpence and farthings, in accordance with the scale of value fixed by King William's proclamation.

These coins are to be considered as tokens. The garrison expressed its loyalty to James by placing on them his name without his former titles, and its nationality by the device on the reverse.

The Hibernias were coined between the first day of the year, the 25th of March, and the 3rd of October, 1691, the day on which the treaty of the surrender of Limerick was signed.

NOTE ON THE PEWTER MONEY OF JAMES II.

The colloquial word humbug is found only in modern dictionaries. Mr. Francis Crossley considers that the real signification of the word *humbug* appears to lie in the following derivation of it. The soft mixed metal of which some of the Irish coins of James II. was composed was known among the Irish as *uim bog*, pronounced oom-bug, *i.e.*, soft copper, *i.e.*, worthless money; and in the course of their dealings the modern use of the word *humbug* took its rise, as in the phrases, "that's a *piece* of uimbog (humbug)." "Don't think to *pass off* your *uimbog* on me." Hence the word *humbug* came to be applied to anything that had a specious appearance, but which was in reality spurious. It is curious to note that the very opposite of *humbug*, *i.e.*, false metal, is the word

sterling, which is also taken from a term applied to the true coinage of the realm, as *sterling* coin, *sterling* worth, &c. Notes and Queries, vol. viii., p. 422, Oct. 29, 1853.

REFERENCES TO ENGRAVINGS.

SIXPENCE.

1689. *July*. Simon, pl. vii. fig. 148.

LARGE SHILLING.

1689. 8BE^r. Simon, pl. vii. fig. 147.

1689. 9^r. Lindsay, pl. vii. fig. 155.

LARGE HALF-CROWN.

1689. *Aug^t*. Ruding Suppl^t, part ii. pl. v. fig. 11.

1689. *Aug^t*. Lindsay, pl. vii. fig. 154.

1689. *Oct* : . Simon, pl. vii. fig. 155.

1690. *Apr*. Harri's Ware, pl. iii. fig. 30.

SMALL SHILLING.

1690. *May*. Leake, pl. vi. 2nd series, fig. 45; and Simon, pl. vii. fig. 149.

SMALL HALF-CROWN.

1690. *May*. Simon, pl. vii. fig. 156.

CROWN.

1690. Harri's Ware, pl. iii. fig. 31.

Simon, pl. vii. fig. 157.

Ruding Suppl^t part ii. pl. v. fig. 12.

HIBERNIAS.

1691. Harri's Ware, pl. iii. fig. 32.

Simon, pl. vii. fig. 152.

Ruding Suppl^t part ii. pl. vi. fig. 2.

AQUILLA SMITH.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *quatrième livraison* of the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* contains the following articles:—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and *Pièces de Nécessité*" (19th article), by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Maillot.

1. "Numismatic Curiosities: rare and inedited coins" (16th article), by M. R. Chalon.

3. "Some inedited Coins and Medals," by M. Th. M. Roest.

4. "Don Juan Perès," by M. R. Chalon.

5. "The Anglo-Saxons and their small deniers, called *sceattas* (4th article), by M. J. Dirks.

In this Essay, which has now been brought to a conclusion, M. Dirks treats of the origin of the *sceattas*, so long a puzzle to numismatists, both English and Foreign, and we recommend it to the study of all those interested in this period of the Numismatic History of our country. Space does not permit us to follow M. Dirks through all his arguments, which are throughout well-sustained and convincing: we can only state briefly the conclusions at which he has arrived. He divides the *sceattas* into four groups, which may be characterized as follows:—

1st. Those with the type of the wolf and twins, and a standard on the reverse, together with its numerous degradations; these he assigns to the Saxon kingdoms in England during the second half of the sixth, the whole of the seventh, and the commencement of the eighth centuries; and he traces their derivation from the Roman money current in this country before that period, agreeing with the views expressed by Mr. B. V. Head in his article on Anglo-Saxon Coins with Runic legends (*Num. Chron.*, n.s., vol. viii., p. 82).

2nd. Those with the type obv. head of Woden, rev. Monster, which he attributes to the Angles during the same period.

3rd. Those with a profile of a King on the obverse, which he gives to a later period, and supposes to have been struck after the union of the three tribes, Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, under one master, the Bretwalda, or Anglo-Saxon Emperor of Britain. These three classes of *sceattas*, M. Dirks is of opinion, were struck in England only, although they have also been found in

large numbers in Frisia, which he accounts for by the fact of a commercial intercourse between the two countries.

^{For} 4th. Those of the so-called Herstal type, which, on the other hand, he holds to have been struck only on the Continent, as they are unknown in English finds. This type, of which the leading feature is the Solomon's Seal, or interlaced triangles, is of Frankish origin, and these *saigas*, or small uninscribed deniers, precede the later Carlovingian deniers with legends or inscriptions, just as the Anglo-Saxon sceattas precede the later pence.

Seven plates accompany these articles by M. Dirks, comprising many varieties of sceattas found at Fräneker, Hallum, Terwispel, Durstede, Domburg, and those in the Royal Collection at the Hague.

In the *Correspondance* are letters from M. Hora Siccama to M. Renier Chalon.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of recent numismatic works, and in the *Nécrologie* is recorded the death of M. Charles Edouard Lambert.

The *Berliner Blätter*, Vol. V., Part III., 1870, contains the following articles :—

1. "The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus," by M. le Baron de Köhne.
2. "An Essay on the Byzantine Leadens Seals," by Dr. Mordtmann, jun.
3. "Unpublished Mediæval Coins," by M. H. Dannenberg (continuation).
4. "The Numismatic History of the Town of Berlin" (Part II.), by M. F. A. Vossberg.
5. Miscellanea.
6. The Newest Current Coins.
7. The Most Recent Medals.
8. The Latest Literature.

INDEX.

A.

- Aelfred the Great, coins of, 19
 Agathokleia, coin of, 207, 218
 Alexander's successors in the East, coins of, 65, 205
 Apollodotus the Great, coins of, 67, 76
 Archebins, coins of, 74, 89
 ARNOLD, T. J., F.S.A., Esq.:—
 On the coin of Knosos, with the legend
 ΠΟΛΧΟΞ, 11

B.

- Bactrian coins, 65, 205
 Berliner Blätter, notice of, 267
 BLADES, WILLIAM, Esq.:—
 On some medals struck by order of the
 Corporation of London, 56

C.

- Cast coins, 131
 Commodus, medallions of, 121
 CORKRAN, S. F., Esq.:—
 An unpublished coin of Maximian, 14
 Medallions of Faustina Senior and Com-
 modus, 119
 CUNNINGHAM, MAJOR-GENERAL A.:—
 Coins of Alexander's successors in the
 East, 65, 205
 Cunobeline, coin of, 128
 CURTIUS, DR. ERNST:—
 On the religious character of Greek
 coins, 91

VOL. X. N.S.

D.

- Diomedes, coins of, 73, 88
 Dionysius, coins of, 70, 86
 Dublin, mint at, 248

E.

- Edward IV., coins of, 40
 „ V., coins of, 51
 Ephesus, stater, possibly of, 237
 EVANS, JOHN, Esq., F.R.S.:—
 Note on a hoard of coins found on Pit-
 stone Common, near Tring, 125

F.

- Faustina, medallion of, 119
 Finds of coins:—
 Crandal, Hants, 164
 Dunblane, 204, 240
 Pitstone Common, near Tring, 125

G.

- GARRUCCI, REV. PADRE:—
 On a brass medallion representing the
 Persian victory of Galerius, 112
 Gloucester, coin of Aelfred, struck at, 22
 Gun money of James II., 244

H.

- HAIGH, REV. D. H.:—
 Coins of Aelfred the Great, 19
 HEAD, B. V., Esq.:—
 Translation of Dr. E. Curtius on the
 religious character of Greek coins, 91

N N

- I.
Indo-Parthian coins, 139
- J.
James II., money of necessity of, 244
 „ III, IV., and V. of Scotland, coins
 of, 240
- K.
Knosos, coin of, 11
- L.
LEFROY, GENERAL, F.R.S.:—
 Further notice of gold coins discovered
 in Hampshire in 1828, 164
Limerick “Hibernias,” 264
Lincoln, coin of Alfred, struck at, 30
London Corporation, medals, 56
London tokens of the seventeenth cen-
 tury, 177
LONDVNIV, the legend, 173
Lysimachus, coins of, 1
- M.
Maximian, coin of, 14
Maximianus Galerius, medallion of, 112
Menander, coins of, 208, 220
Merovingian coins, 164
MULLER, DR. L.:—
 Remarks on the classification of some
 coins of Lysimachus, 1
- N.
NECK, J. F., Esq.:—
 On some unpublished coins of Ed-
 ward IV., &c., 40
NEWTON, CHARLES T., Esq.:—
 On an electrum stater, possibly of
 Ephesus, 237
- P.
Parthian coins, 139
- ΦΑΕΝΟΠΕΜΙ·ΣΗΜΑ, the legend, 237
ΠΟΛΛΟΣ, the legend, 11
- R.
Religious character of Greek coins, 91
Revue Numismatique Belge, notices of,
 200, 267
Roman coins, 128
- S.
Sales of coins, 201
Scottish coins, 204, 240
Seleucus I., coins of, 133
SIM, GEORGE, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.:—
 Notes on coins recently discovered in
 Scotland, 240
SMALLFIELD, J. S., Esq.:—
 London tokens of the seventeenth cen-
 tury, 177
SMITH, AQUILLA, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.:—
 Money of necessity issued in Ireland in
 the reign of James II., 244
Southwark tokens, 197
Straton I., coins of, 205
Straton II., coins of, 207, 219
- T.
THOMAS, EDWARD, Esq., H.E.I.C.S.:—
 Indo-Parthian coins, 139
Tokens, London, 177
Tring, coins found near, 125
- V.
VAUX, W. S. W., Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.:—
 On a small silver coin of Seleucus I
 Nicator, 133
Verus, coin of, 126
- W.
WYLIE, W. M., Esq., F.S.A.:—
 Communication by, 112
- Z.
Zoilus, coins of, 71, 87

THE END.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1869—1870.

OCTOBER 21, 1869.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. The Smithsonian Report for 1867. From the Smithsonian Institution.

2. Currency of the Isle of Man, from its earliest appearance to its assimilation with the British coinage in 1840, by Charles Clay, Esq., M.D. From the Author.

3. A Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins. Parts I. and II. By H. W. Henfrey, Esq. From the Author.

4. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, N.S., vol. iv., Part I., 1869. From the Society.

5. The Journal of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. 3rd Series, vol. i., January, 1869. From the Association.

6. Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, N.S., vol. viii., session 1867-8. From the Society.

7. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. Series V., tome i. 3^{me} and 4^{me} livraisons. From the Society.

8. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1^{re} et 2^{me} trimestres de 1869. From the Society.

9. Une Médaille inconnue à Van Loon. Le Poète Houwaert. By M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

10. Curiosités Numismatiques. Médailles et Monnaies rares ou inédites. By M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

11. Anciens Jetons des Receveurs de Bruxelles. By M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

12. Griechische Münzen aus der Sammlung des Herrn Fr. Imhoof-Blumer in Wintorthur. By Herr Fr. Imhoof-Blumer. From the Author.

13. Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. 1868. Parts III. and IV. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries.

14. Tillæg til Aarboger, &c. 1868. From the same.

15. Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. N.S., 1867. From the Society.

16. Publications de la Société pour la recherche et la conservation des monuments historiques dans le grand duché de Luxembourg, 1866. From the Society.

17. Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Luxembourgeois. No. I., 1868. From the Society.

18. Verhandlungen des Vereins für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben. N.S., Part I., 1869. From the Society.

19. Batty's Catalogue of Copper Coinage. Parts IV. and V. From the Author.

Mr. Beal sent for exhibition casts of a gold British coin, lately found near Oundle. It is of the type, Evans, Plate B, No. 7, and weighs 99 grains.

Mr. Henfrey communicated an account of the finding of a gold British coin at Brighton. The type is that of Evans, Plate B, No. 8.

Dr. L. Müller, of Copenhagen, communicated a paper "On the Classification of the Coins of Lysimachus." It is printed in the Num. Chron., vol. x., p. 1.

NOVEMBER 18, 1869.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Colonel Charles Seton Guthrie; William Charles Pearson, Esq.; George Sidney Read, Esq.; John Joseph Nunn, Esq.; Charles Williams, Esq.; Thomas B. Winser, Esq.; Henry Mott, Esq.; and W. R. Davies, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

The following present was announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Journal of the Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. 3rd Series, vol. i., April, 1869, No. 6.

Mr. Frentzel exhibited a pattern for a Russian rouble of Alexander I., struck at the Soho Mint.

Mr. Joseph Wyon exhibited a bronze medal, struck to commemorate the incorporation of the four provinces of Canada into one imperial dominion.

Mr. John Evans communicated a paper "On a Hoard of Ancient British Coins found at Santon Downham, Suffolk," which is printed in the Num. Chron., vol. ix., p. 319.

DECEMBER 16, 1869.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Alfred Benjamin Wyon, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The following present was announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3^{me} trimestre de 1869. From the Society.

Mr. T. J. Arnold exhibited a copy in bronze of the medal commonly known as the "Descente en Angleterre" medal, struck by Napoleon I. to commemorate his (intended) invasion of England. Napoleon is represented as Hercules strangling

Antæus, who appears as a sort of sea-monster, his legs ending in fish-tails; below is the assertion that the medal was "*Frappé (sic) à Londres en 1804.*" Mr. Arnold also exhibited a medal commemorating the election of Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic. On the obverse is the inscription, "Louis Napoléon Bonaparte élu Président de la République, 10 X-bre, 1848. Suffrage Universelle. Immense Majorité." And, on the reverse, "En Présence de Dieu et devant le Peuple Français représenté par l'Assemblée Nationale, je jure de rester fidèle à la République Démocratique une et indivisible, et de remplir tous les devoirs que m'impose la Constitution."

The Rev. Assheton Pownall exhibited a Sterling of Marie d'Artois, struck at Méraud (now Poil-vache), and found at Peckleton, Leicestershire.

Mr. Evans exhibited two gold Gaulish coins, found at Paris, in the Seine, both with the obverse purposely defaced, having probably been offerings to the Deity of the stream.

Mr. Johnson exhibited a rare Irish half-groat of Mary.

Mr. Blades exhibited a set of medals, struck by order of the Corporation of London, and communicated a paper on the subject. See Num. Chron., vol. x., p. 56.

Mr. Corkran exhibited a cast of an unpublished and very remarkable coin of Maximian Hercules, described in the Num. Chron., vol. x., p. 14.

Mr. Jennings communicated an account of some Roman coins found in the neighbourhood of Southampton.

Mr. Vaux read a paper, by himself, on an unpublished small silver coin of Seleucus Nicator, of a type known only upon a tetradrachm of the same king. It is printed in the Num. Chron., vol. x., p. 183.

Mr. Sharp communicated a paper "On the Stamford Mint." See Num. Chron., vol. ix., p. 327.

JANUARY 20, 1870.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

James Edwin Cureton, Esq., of the British Museum, was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Coins, tokens, and medals of the Dominion of Canada, by Alfred Sandham, Esq. From the Author.

2. A Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins. Part III., by H. W. Henfrey, Esq. From the Author.

3. *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*. 5^{me} Série, tom. ii., 1^{re} liv. de 1870. From the Society.

4. *Médailles impériales grecques relatives aux théâtres de l'Asie mineure*, par M. Henri de Longpérier. From the Author.

5. *Tétradrachme inédit de Delphes, attribution de diverses monnaies à la même ville*, by M. Henri de Longpérier. From the Author.

6. *Le Temple de Jupiter Capitolin d'après les médailles* par M. le Baron de Köhne. From the Author.

The Council exhibited a selection of coins and medals from the Society's collection. Mr. Vaux made a few remarks, in the course of which he gave a short sketch of the history of the formation of the collection.

Mr. Corkran exhibited a gold quinarius of the Emperor Geta, reading on the obverse P. SEPTIMIUS GETA CAES, and having the head of Geta to the right. On the reverse is the legend NOBILITAS, and a female figure to the left, leaning upon a sceptre and holding the palladium. This quinarius is interesting as being a hitherto unpublished specimen.

Mr. Neck communicated a paper "On some Silver Coins of Edward IV. and V. (See Num. Chron., vol. x., p. 40.)"

Mr. Arnold communicated a paper "On the Coin of Knosos,

bearing the word *πόλις*," in which he considered the question as to whether it is the name of a magistrate or a contraction of *πολιούχος*. It is printed in the *Num. Chron.*, vol. x., p. 11.

FEBRUARY 17, 1870.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Samuel Savage Lewis, Esq., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and John Sugden, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. vi., N.S., July, 1867, No. 57. From the Society.

2. *Proceedings of the Manchester Numismatic Society*. Parts VII. and VIII., 1869. From the Society.

3. *A Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins*. Part IV., by H. W. Henfrey, Esq. From the Author.

Dr. A. Smith exhibited a coin of Sitric, with the obverse legend: *SITRIC CUNUNG DYFL*, and the reverse *GODWINE MO WINT*, the head to the left, like that of Ethelred II. Also a penny of Anlaf, with the reverse legend *ANLAF CUNUNGS*, and some other Hiberno-Danish coins. He also made remarks on the cleaning of coins, recommending "*liquor ammoniæ fortis*," and, if necessary, in the case of copper coins rubbing with black-lead. He also communicated a list of the so-called gun-money of James II.

Mr. Corkran exhibited a cast of a "*Tiers de Sou*" of Ariadne, the wife of the Emperor Zeno, and made remarks concerning the date of her marriage, usually supposed to have taken place A.D. 468, but which the late M. Sabatier, in his "*Description Générale des Monnaies Byzantines*," fixes at A.D. 459.

Mr. Vaux read a paper "*On the Coins of Syria bearing Phœnician Legends*."

MARCH 17, 1870.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Charles Clay, Esq., M.D., and John Maxfield Smith, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. N.S., vol. iv. Part II.

2. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie. Parts I. and II., 1869, from the Society of Northern Antiquaries.

3. Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. N.S., 1868. From the Society.

4. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthums-freunden im Rheinlande. Heft xlv. From the Society.

5. A Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins. Part V., by H. W. Henfrey, Esq. From the Author.

6. Brüholt fundet, Mynter fra 10^{de} og 11^{te} Aarhundrede beskrevne, af C. A. Holmboe. From the Author.

7. Om nogle Norske Pengetegn, af C. A. Holmboe. From the Author.

8. Three skillings of 1869 and half-skillings of 1867 of the New Norwegian coinage. From the Kongelige Norske Universitet i Christiania.

9. Curiosités Numismatiques, Médailles et Monnaies rares on inédites (14^{me} Article), by M. C. E. Martin-Daussigny. From the Author.

10. A description of the Roman tessellated pavement found in Bucklersbury, with observations on analogous discoveries, by John E. Price, Esq. From W. Blades, Esq.

Mr. Warren exhibited casts of two ancient British coins in silver, the one (Evans, pl. xv. 10) found at Pakenham, the other (Evans, pl. xvi. 10) found at Farnham, Suffolk.

Mr. C. Roach Smith sent for exhibition casts of a coin of

Athelstan, of the type of Ruding pl. xvii, 16, with the name of the moneyer ARAWART.

Mr. Evans exhibited pennies of Cynethryth, wife of Offa (Ruding, pl. v. 2), and of Coenwulf (Ruding, pl. vii. 28), lately found; the latter reads on the obverse *COENVULF. REX. M.* He also exhibited a coin of Offa struck by the same moneyer, *EOBA*, as that of Cynethryth, and some other coins of Offa and Coenwulf.

Dr. Freudenthal exhibited a coin, having on one side a Chinese inscription, and on the other one in Tibetan. Dr. Birch said that according to the Chinese inscription it was struck in the 59th year of Kien Lung.

Mr. Pearson exhibited coins of Domitian, Allectus, and Magnentius, found in the Thames Embankment.

Mr. Barclay V. Head read a translation by himself of a treatise by Professor Ernst Curtius, "On the Religious Character of Greek Coins," which is printed in the *Num. Chron.*, vol. x., p. 91.

APRIL 21, 1870.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Samuel Salter Pearce, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, N.S., vol. ix., session 1868-9. From the Society.

2. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 4^{me} trimestre de 1869. From the Society.

3. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 5^{me} Serie, tome ii., 2^{me} livraison. From the Society.

4. Constitution and By-Laws of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia. From the Society.

5. Jahrbücher des Vereins der Alterthums-freunden im Rheinlande. Heft xlvii. and xlviii. From the Society.

6. Curiosités Numismatiques, pièces rares ou inédites (15^{me} article). By M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

7. The Rural Life of Shakespeare, by C. R. Smith, Esq. From the Author.

The Rev. T. Cornthwaite exhibited a silver medal of Cochin China, having on one side an inscription in Chinese and on the other one in Manchou.

Mr. F. Spicer exhibited a Romano-British fibula found near Dover.

Papers were communicated by Mr. S. F. Corkran "On Two Unique and Unpublished Roman Medallions," of which casts were exhibited, and by Mr. E. Thomas "On Indo-Parthian Coins." They are printed in the Num. Chron., vol. x., pp. 119 and 139.

MAY 19, 1870.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Alexander Allardyce, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Luxembourgeois, vol. xxiv., 1869. From the Society.

2. The Journal of the Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, vol. i., 3rd Series, July, 1869, No. 7; and vol. i., 4th Series, January, 1870, No. 1. From the Society.

3. Celeberrimorum virorum epistolæ de re Numismatica ad M. Zachariam Goezium. From John Williams, Esq.

4. Oeconis Numismata Imp. Romanorum a Pompeio Magno ad Heraclium. Ed. altera. From John Williams, Esq.

5. A View of the Coins at this time current throughout Europe, by Thomas Snelling. London, 1766. From John Williams, Esq.

Mr. T. Jones exhibited a first brass coin of Trajan, with a large ægis on the breast; and some third brass coins of Carausius and Allectus, struck in London and found in Cannon Street; also a small brass coin of Tiberius, with the heads of Nero and Drusus on the reverse, struck at Carthago Nova.

Mr. Henfrey communicated a description of an ancient British coin (type of Evans, Plate B. No. 8) found at Brighton.

A paper was contributed by Mr. R. H. Lang, of Larnaca, Cyprus, "On Coins discovered by him during recent excavations in the Island of Cyprus."

Mr. S. F. Corkran communicated a paper "On Personification on Roman Coins."

JUNE 16, 1870.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed. The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting, as follows :—

GENTLEMEN,—In accordance with the usual custom of this Society, the Council have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society at this, another Anniversary Meeting.

The Council regret to have to announce their loss by death of Colonel William Anderson, C.B., and of our Honorary Member, M. J. Sabatier, Vice-President of the Société Française de Numismatique.

The Council have also to announce the resignation of Cecil Brent, Esq., and Henry Charles Coote, Esq.¹

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure in recording the election of the sixteen following members :—

Alexander Allardyce, Esq.
 Charles Clay, Esq., M.D.
 James Edwin Cureton, Esq.
 William Rusher Davies, Esq.
 Colonel Charles Seton Guthrie.
 Samuel Savage Lewis, Esq.
 Henry Mott, Esq.
 John Joseph Num, Esq.
 Samuel Salter Pearce, Esq.
 William Charles Pearson, Esq.
 John Maxfield Smith, Esq.
 George Sydney Read, Esq.
 John Sugden, Esq.
 Charles Williams, Esq.
 Thomas B. Winsor, Esq.
 Alfred Benjamin Wyon, Esq.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are therefore as follows :—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1869	5	125	39	169
Since elected	—	16	—	16
	5	141	39	185
Deceased	—	1	1	2
Resigned	—	2	—	2
Erased	—	—	—	—
Members, June, 1870	5	138	38	181

¹ Since this was written we have also to announce the resignations of—

James Edwin Cureton, Esq.
 T. D. E. Gunston, Esq., and
 M. E. C. Phillips, Esq.

We proceed to give a brief notice of our deceased honorary member, M. Pierre-Justin Sabatier, and of Mr. W. Harvey, of Lewes.

M. Sabatier was born on the 12th of July, 1792, at Toulouse. He received an excellent education at the Military School of Saint-Cyr, whence, at barely twenty years of age, he went as sub-lieutenant to join Napoleon's army in Germany, where he took an active part in that disastrous campaign. His devotion to his fallen emperor's cause brought upon him a sentence of death from Louis XVIII., which he eluded by flight. For forty years he lived in Russia, loved and esteemed by many savants and Numismatists. He devoted himself to archæology, but confined himself more especially to the study of Roman and Byzantine Numismatics. It is to a voyage in the Crimea that we are indebted for his able work entitled, "*Souvenirs de Kertsch et Chronologie du Royaume de Bosphore—St. Petersburg, 1849,*" which contains a complete catalogue of the coins of the kingdom of the Bosphorus. In 1847 he published his "*Iconographie de 5,000 Médailles Romaines, Byzantines, et Celtibériennes.*" In 1850, Sabatier wrote, in conjunction with his son, his excellent work entitled "*Production de l'Or, de l'Argent, et du Cuivre, chez les Anciens, et Hôtels Monétaires des Empires Romain et Byzantin.*" Soon after the Crimean war, Sabatier left Russia and returned to his native land. He sold his fine and valuable collection of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine coins for a small annuity, and settled in Paris. He was a zealous contributor to the Numismatic Reviews of Paris and Brussels, and assisted in the formation of a Numismatic Society at St. Petersburg, and also of one in Paris, of which he was elected vice-president. Sabatier's interesting works met with the approval of the Emperor of Russia, and the Kings of Prussia, Portugal, Sweden, and Greece, who conferred their orders upon him. He was an esteemed member of many

learned societies as well as an honorary member of the Numismatic Society of London. He died in his fifty-fifth year on the 17th of December, 1869.

The late W. Harvey, Esq., F.S.A., of Lewes, whose decease took place on the 22nd of April, 1869, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, was well known as a local antiquary, and devoted much time to Archæological research. In conjunction with Mr. Blaauw, Mr. Durrant Cooper, Mr. M. A. Lower, and others, he was one of the founders of the Sussex Archæological Society in 1846, and continued an active and valued member of the Committee of the Society until the time of his death. His cabinet of coins consisted chiefly of those found in the county, or of local interest.

The Council regret to state that Dr. W. Freudenthal, who has for some years held the office of treasurer to this Society, is about to leave this country to reside in Germany, and has been, therefore, compelled to resign. Mr. J. F. Neck has consented to take his place. The members present will, therefore, be asked to record a vote of thanks to Dr. Freudenthal for the great zeal and energy with which he has discharged the duties of treasurer during his tenure of that office.

In conclusion, the Council has to congratulate the Society upon the completion of the ninth volume of the New Series of the Chronicle; and to express a hope that the members of this Society will do their utmost to contribute articles of interest and importance to the science of Numismatics in its widest signification, so that our Review may be enabled, as heretofore, to hold its place among the numerous and excellent publications of a similar nature brought out in other countries, and that there may be no diminution either in the quantity or the quality of the matter contained in its pages.

The Society is at the present moment in a more flourishing

condition than it has been for many years past; and it is the earnest hope of the Council that each member will endeavour to make known to students of Archæology and Numismatics the advantages afforded by our Society towards the prosecution of historical research, and to obtain as many subscribers and contributors as possible, in order that there may be no falling off in our reputation as a scientific body.

The Report of the Treasurer is as follows :—

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

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The Society then adjourned until October 21st, 1870.

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OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON,
DECEMBER, 1870.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON,
DECEMBER, 1870.

An Asterisk prefixed to a name indicates that the Member has compounded for his annual contribution. (O.M.)=Original Member.

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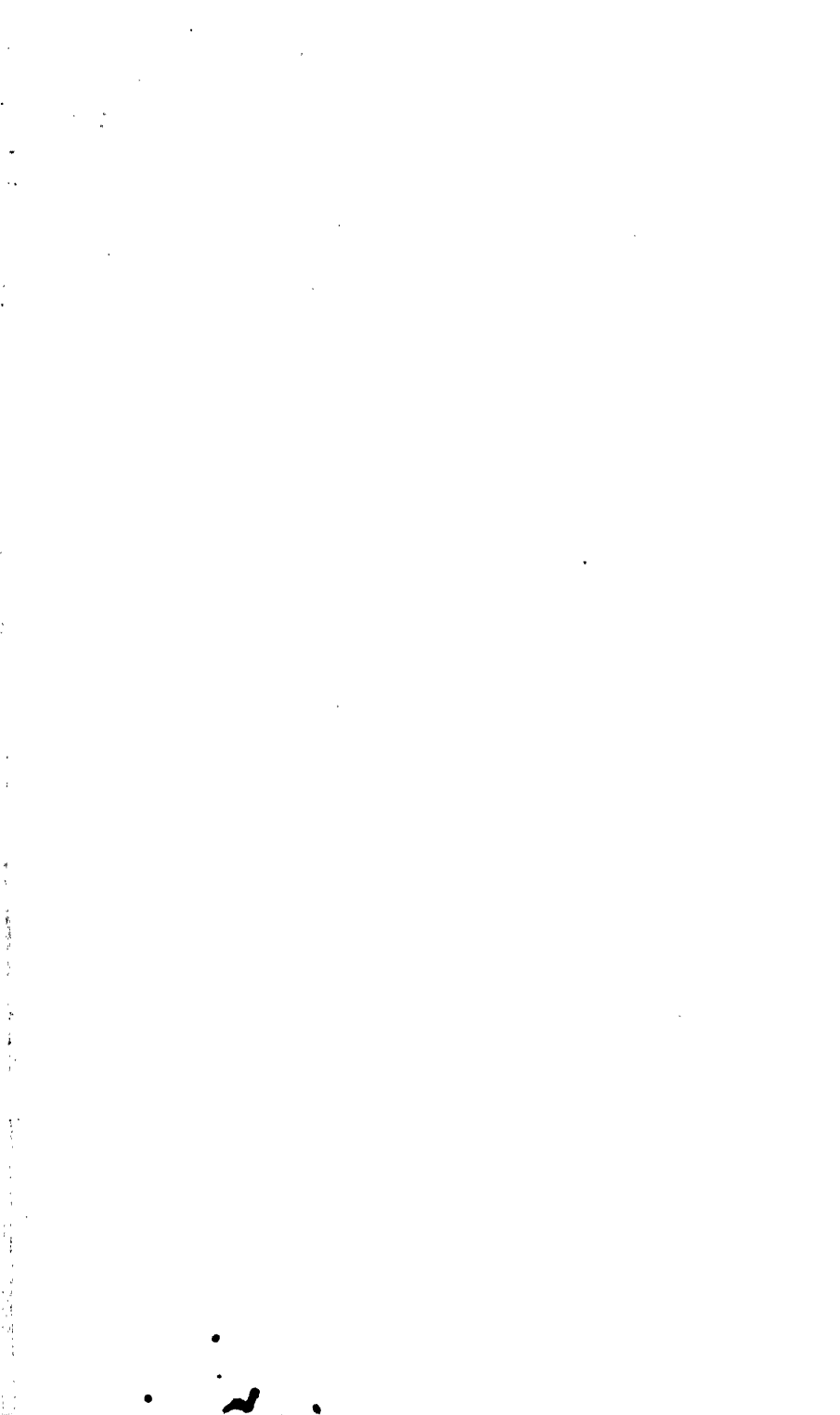
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